

Neues
Englisch-geographisches
und
historisches
LESEBUCH

von
D. I. M. F. Schulze.

Zweiter Theil.

HALLE,
bei Johann Jacob Gebauer,
1790.

Geographisches
und
Historisches
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V

V o r r e d e.

Dieser zweite Theil des *neuen Englischen u. s. w. Lesebuchs*, enthält, in drei verschiedenen Abschnitten, Auszüge aus folgenden historisch-geographischen Werken:

Erstlich: aus Pennant's Reise nach Schottland und den Hebridischen Inseln; welche zur Ergänzung der, bereits im ersten Theile auszugsweise enthaltenen Reise nach Schottland, von dem nehmlichen Verfasser, dient; auch bei weitem unterhaltender noch ist. Zu noch mehrerer Ergänzung denke ich im dritten Theile einen Auszug aus J. Anderson's vortreflichen *Nachrichten von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Hebridischen Inseln, und der Westlichen Küste von Schottland* zu liefern.

Zwei-

IV

Zweitens: Beschreibung einer Reise nach Ostindien und China: nach Ch. F. Noble und einigen andern Reisebeschreibern.

Drittens: Geschichte des Römischen Reichs und der Christlichen Kirche, von der Alleinherrschaft Constantins des Grossen, bis zum Tode Julians. Dies ist die Fortsetzung des bereits im vorigen Theile angefangenen Auszugs aus Gibbon's unsterblichem Werke vom Verfall und Untergang des Römischen Reichs. Da ich höre, daß dieser Abschnitt meines neuen Englischen Lesebuchs den Lesern ganz besonders willkommen ist: so werde ich in den folgenden Theilen nicht ermangeln, gleich unverzüglich damit fortzufahren.

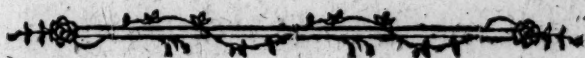


I.
Auszug
aus
Pennant's
Reise nach Schottland
und den
Hebridischen Inseln.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST



DUMFRIES-SHIRE.

Ankunft daselbst.

In order to render more complete my preceding tour; and to allay ^{a)} that species of restlessness that infects many minds on leaving any attempt unfinished, I undertook a second voyage to North Britain, and after my arrival at the frontiers of our two sister-kingsdoms, entered SCOTLAND in Liddesdale, a portion of the county of *Dumfries*, and a most fertile and well-cultivated tract of low arable and pasture land.

Der Fluss Esk und das Eskthal. Schafzucht.

Cross the Esk, through a ford ^{b)} with a bottom of solid rock. The water was of the most crystalline, or colorless clearness, no stream I have ever seen being comparable; so that persons who ford this river are often led into distresses, by being deceived as to its depth; for the great transparency gives it an unreal shallowness.

A 2

Esk.

a) stillen, beruhigen.

b) Furt, seichtere Stelle eines Flusses.

Esldale, taking its name from the river Esk, extends thirty or forty miles in length, and the sides as far as I could see, bounded by hills of smooth and verdant grass, the sweet food of the sheep, the great staple of the country. To give an idea of the considerable traffic carried on in these animals, the reader may be told, that from twenty to thirty - six thousand lambs are sold in the several fairs that are held at Langholme in the year.

To this must be added the great profit made of the wool, sold into England for our coarser manufactures; of the sheep themselves sent into the south and even of the cheese and butter made from the milk of the ewes ^{c)}.

Gratna, der berühmte Zufluchtsort bedrängter Liebenden.

Not far from hence is the little village of Gratna, the resort of all amorous couples, whose union the prudence of parents or guardians prohibits. Here the young pair may be instantly united by a fisherman, a joiner ^{d)}; or a blacksmith, who marry from two guineas a job ^{e)}, to a dram ^{f)} of whisky: but the price is generally adjusted by the information of the postilions from Carlisle, who are in pay of one or other of the above worthies: but even the drivers ^{g)}, in case of necessity, have been known to undertake the sacerdotal office.

The church of Scotland do what they can to prevent these clandestine matches, but in

c) Schafmütter.

d) Tischler, Schreiner.

e) ein Stückchen Arbeit.

f) Schluck, Schnaps.

g) Fuhrleute.

in vain; for those infamous couplers despise the fulmination of the kirk, and excommunication is the only penalty it can inflict.

Rig, a little hamlet, is a sort of chapel of ease to Gratna, in the run-away nuptials. The performer here is an alehouse-keeper.

Solway Firth, Stadt und Fluss Annan.

On the left is Solway-firth, which gains on the land continually, and much is annually washed away: the tides recede far, and leave a vast space of sands dry.

The country grows now very uncultivated, and consists of large commons. Annan, a town of four or five hundred inhabitants, is seated on the river of the same name.

Eine tragische Liebesgeschichte.

In the burying-ground of Kirkonnel is the grave of the fair *Ellen Irvine*, and that of her lover. She was daughter of the house of Kirkonnel; and was beloved by two gentlemen at the same time. The one vowed to sacrifice the successful rival to his resentment, and watched an opportunity while the happy pair were sitting on the banks of the *Kirtle*, that washes these grounds. Ellen perceived the desperate lover on the opposite side, and fondly thinking to save her favourite, interposed; and receiving the wound intended for her beloved, fell and expired in his arms. He instantly revenged her death; then fled into Spain, and served for some time against the infidels. On his return he visited the grave of his unfortunate mistress, stretched him-

self on it, and expiring on the spot, was interred by her side.

A sword and a cross are engraven on the tomb-stone, with „*hic jacet Adam Fleming*,„ the only memorial of this unhappy gentleman, except an ancient ballad of no great merit, recording the tragical event, which happened either the latter end of the reign of James V, or the beginning of that of Mary.

Gebirgigte Gegend. Eine Schottische Antiquität.

In the progress of my journey the country began to grow very hilly, but usefully so; the hills being verdant, and formed for excellent sheep-walks.

Near a place called *Kilblain* I met with one of the ancient canoes of the primaeval inhabitants of the country, when it was probably in the same state of nature as Virginia, when first discovered by Captain Philip Amidas. The length of this little vessel was eight feet: the hollow was made with fire, in the very manner that the Indians of America formed their canoes.

Fluss Nith.

Continue my ride along the coast to the mouth of the Nith, which empties itself into the vast estuary, where the tide flows in so fast on the level sands that a man well mounted would find difficulty to escape, if surprised by it. The view on the opposite side of Cressel and the other Galloway hills is very beautiful.

Stadt

Stadt Dumfries. Denkmäler der Intoleranz.

Dumfries, a very neat and well-built town, is seated on the Nith. The great weekly markets for black cattle are of much advantage to this place.

In the church-yard of St. Michael are several monuments in form of pyramids, very ornamental, and on some grave-stones are inscriptions in memory of the martyrs of the country, or the poor victims to the violence of the apostate Archbishop Sharp, or the bigotry of James II, before and after his accession. Powers were given to an inhuman set of miscreants to destroy upon suspicion of disaffection, or for even declining to give answers declarative of their political principles: and such who refused (before two witnesses) were instantly put to death. Many poor peasants were shot on moors, on the shores, or wheresoever their enemies met with them: Perhaps enthusiasm might possess the sufferers, but an infernal spirit had possession of their persecutors.

The memory of these flagitious deeds are preserved on many of the wild moors by inscribed grave-stones, much to the same effect as the following on James Kirke, shot on the sands of Dumfries:

By bloody Bruce and wretched Wright
I lost my life in great despight;
Shot dead without due time to try
And fit me for eternity.
A witness of Prelatic rage
As ever was in any age.

*Separatisten zu Dumfries. Esprit de corps
dieser Sekte.*

This place like most other considerable towns in Scotland, has its seceders chapel: these are the rigid presbyterians, who possess their religion in all its original sourness: think their church in danger because their ministers degenerate into moderation. To avoid these horrid innovations they separate themselves from their imaginary false brethern; renew a solemn league and covenant, and preserve to the best of their power all the rags ^{h)} and rents ⁱ⁾ bequeathed to them by John Knox ^{k)}; which the more sensible preachers of this day are striving to darn ^{l)} and patch ^{m)}.

Abreise von Dumfries.

On leaving Dumfries I continued my journey due North through the beautiful *Nithsdale* or vale of Nith, the river meandering with bold curvatures along rich meadows; and the country, for some space, adorned with groves and gentlemen's seats.

Quitting Nithsdale, and turning suddenly to the right; I passed through the glen of Lochburn between vast mountains, and at last entered *Lanerkshire* or *Clydesdale*.

h) all den Plunder. i) Trennungen, Zänkereien.

k) Ein schottländischer Prediger, welcher das meiste zur Abschaffung des Katholicismus in seinem Vaterlande beitrug; dagegen aber in das andere Extrem versiel, und sich dadurch viel Verfolgungen zuzog. † 1572.

l) ausbessern, stopfen wie man Strümpfe stopfet.

m) flicken.

Fort-

Fortsetzung der Reise
durch
LANERKSHIRE und einen Theil von
RENFREW- und LENOXSHIRE ⁿ⁾).

Produkte der Gebirgsgegend von Lanerkshire.

Nothing can equal the barren and gloomy appearance of this country: neither tree nor shrub, nor verdure, nor picturesque rock appear to amuse the eye: the spectator must plunge into the bowels ^{o)} of these mountains for entertainment; or please himself with the idea of the good that is done by the well-bestowed treasures drawn from these inexhausted mines, that are still rich, baffling the efforts of two centuries. The space that has yielded ore is little more than a mile square, and is a flat or pass among the mountains.

The ore yields in general about seventy pounds of lead from a hundred and twelve of ore, but affords very little silver. Native gold has been frequently found in this tract, in the gravel beneath peat ^{p)}, from which it was washed by rains, and collected in the gullies ^{q)} by persons who at different times have employed themselves in search of this precious metal: but of late years these adventurers have scarce been able to procure a livelihood.

A 5

Dou-

n) auch Dumbartonshire genannt.

o) Eingeweide, Innere.

q) Ausflüsse.

p) eine Art Moos, Torf.

Douglasthal. Von dem berühmten Geschlechte der Douglas.

Douglasdale, watered by the river that gives the name, is a valley distinguished by the residence of the family of Douglas, a race of turbulent heroes, celebrated throughout Europe for deeds of arms; the glory, yet the scourge of this country; the terror of their princes; the pride of the Northern annals of chivalry.

They derive their name from *Sholto Douglasse*, or the black and grey warrior, a hero in the reign of *Solvathius*, King of Scotland, who lived in the eighth century. But the Douglassies first began to rise into power in the days of the good Sir James, who died in 1330. During a century and a half their greatness knew no bounds; and their arrogance was equally unlimited: that high spirit, which was wont to be exerted against the enemies of their country, now degenerated into faction, sedition and treason; they emulated the royal authority; they went abroad with a train of two thousand armed men; created knights, had their counsellors, established ranks, and constituted a parliament. It is certain that they might almost have formed a house of peers out of their own family; for at the same time there were not fewer than six Earls of the name of Douglas. They gave shelter to the most barbarous banditti, and protected them in the greatest crimes; for (says an ancient writer) so fearful was their name, and terrible to every innocent man, that when a murderer was apprehended, if he alledged that he murdered and slew at a
Dou-

Douglas's command, no man durst present him to justice.

Douglas castle, the residence of these *Reguli*, seems to have been prostrated¹⁾ almost as frequently as its masters. The ruin that is seen there at present is the remains of the last old castle, for many had been built on the same site.

Weg nach Lanerk. Wasserfall des Flusses Clyde. Ankunft zu Glasgow.

Ride for some time in Douglassdale, a tract deficient in wood, but of great fertility: the soil fine, and of an uncommon depth; yielding fine barley and oats, most slovenly kept, and full of weeds: the country full of gentle risings. Arrive in a flat extent of ground, descend to the river Clyde, cross a bridge and reach Lanerk, a town that gives name to the country. Not far from it are the celebrated falls of the Clyde. From a ruinous pavillon in a gentleman's garden, placed in a lofty situation, they are seen to most advantage. The cataract is full in view, seen over the tops of trees and bushes, precipitating itself, for an amazing way, from rock to rock, with short interruptions, forming a rude slope of furious foam. The sides are bounded by vast rocks, cloathed on their tops with trees.

Continue my journey, pass through Hamilton, cross the Clyde at Bothwell bridge, and reach Glasgow.

Das

¹⁾ zu Grunde gerichtet.

*Das Ende von Graham's Dyke. Geburtsort des
Schutzpatrons von Irland: Dessen Thaten.*

Kirkpatric, not far from Glasgou, where the river Clyde is about a quarter of a mile broad, is celebrated for being the supposed termination of the Roman wall, or Graham's dike, built under the auspices of Antoninus Pius. Not the least relique is to be seen here at present: but about a mile and a half to the eastward on a rising ground are the vestiges of a fort and watch-tower, with a very deep foss. This wall was guarded with small forts from end to end, that is to say: from near Kirkpatric to within two miles of Abercorn on the Firth of Forth, a space of thirty-six miles eight hundred and eighty-seven paces.

Ireland will scarce forgive me if I am silent about the birth-place of its tutelar saint. He first drew breath at Kirkpatric, and derived his name from his father, a noble Roman (a Patrician) who fled hither in the time of persecution. St. Patric took on himself the charge of Ireland, founded there 365 churches, ordained 365 bishops, 3000 priests, converted 12,000 persons in one district, baptised seven kings at once, established a purgatory, and with his staff at once expelled every reptile that stung ^{s)} or croaked ^{t)}.

Verfolg der Reisebeschreibung.

Set out for Greenock, pass through Renfrew: the country very fine: the lanes ^{u)} for some space well planted on both sides. Reach
Gree-

s) das Imperfectum von to sting stechen.

t) to croak quaken, krächzen. u) Gassen, Wege.

Greenock: take boat and cross into the shire of Lenox, and land where the parish of Rosneath juts out, and narrows the bay to the breadth of three miles, forming in that part a sort of strait: the prospect in the middle of this passage uncommonly fine; a contrast of fertility and savage views: to the East were the rich shores of the shires of *Renfrew* and *Lenox*, the pretty seats on the banks, and the wooded peninsula of Ardmore: and to the West appear the craggy tops of the hills of *Argyleshire*.

Reise

nach den

HEBRIDISCHEN INSELN.

Beschreibung der Fahrt auf dem Firth of Clyde nach der Insel Bute.

On the 17th of June I went on board the *Lady Frederic Campbel*, a cutter ^{x)} of ninety tuns, Mr. Archibald Thomson master. We sailed at half an hour past two in the afternoon, and passed, on the right, the point of Roseneath in *Lenox*, between which, and that of Strone in Cowal (a portion of *Argyleshire*) opens Loch-Long, which runs North many miles up the country. Immediately beyond the point of Strone the land is again divided by the Holy-Loch extending Westward. On its Northern shore is Kilmund, the burial-place of the house of Argyle.

The view down the Firth now appears extremely great: the shire of Renfrew bounds one side; the hills of Cowall, sloping to the water-edge, and varied with woods and corn lands, grace the other: in front are the greater and the lesser Cumrays ^{y)}; the isle of Bute, with its fertile shore, lies oblique ^{z)} and the stupendous mountains of Arran, soar at some distance far, far above.

Insel

x) Eine Art kleiner, schmaler Schiffe, im Deutschen auch Cutter genannt.

y) Inseln dieses Namens: auf Kitchins Karte Cumbia genannt.

z) schräg, zur Seite.

Insel und Grafschaft Bute.

In the evening we landed at the isle of Bute. Walk up to Mount Stewart, the seat of the earl of Bute. The situation is very fine, on an eminence in the midst of a wood, where trees grow with as much vigor as in the more Southern parts, and extends far beneath on each side. Throstles ^{a)}, and other birds of song, fill the groves with their melody; nothing disturbs their harmony; for instinct, often stranger than reason forbids them to quit these delicious shades, and wander, like their unhappy master ^{b)}, into the ungrateful wilds of ambition.

The air is, in general, temperate: mists or thick rolling fogs ^{c)} from the sea, ever infested this island. Snow is scarcely ever known to lie here: The evils of this place are winds and rains, the last coming in deluges from the West.

This isle with that of Arran, the greater and the lesser Cumbray, and Inchmarnoc, form a county under the name of Bute. This shire and that of Cathness send a member to parliament alternately.

Von Bute nach der Landenge Tarbat.

Weigh anchor at three o' clock in the morning, and am amused with a fine view of the circum-ambient land: the peninsula of Cantyre, here lofty, sloping and rocky, divided

a) Drosseln, Krammetsvögel.

b) d. i. der Graf Bute, der in unsern Tagen mit seiner Administration (als Staatsminister,) keine sonderliche Ehre eingelegt hat.

c) Nebel oder dick daherschwebende Dünste.

vided by dingles ^{d)}, filled with woods, which reach the water-edge, and expand on both sides of the hollows.

Visit the narrow neck of land called Tarbat, which joins Cantyre to South Knapdale. It is scarcely a mile wide, is partly morassy, partly intersected by strata of rocks. The two streights or bays on both sides are called Loch Tarbat. It is not very long since vessels of nine or ten tuns were drawn by horses out of the West loch into that of the East, to avoid the dangers of the Mull of Cantyre; so dreaded and so little known was the navigation round that promontory.

There have been plans for cutting a canal through this isthmus to facilitate the navigation between the Western Ocean and the ports of the Clyde, and to take away the necessity of sailing, through the turbulent tides of the Mull of Cantyre. It is supposed to be practicable, but at vast expence.

Not only this, but also other little isthmus's are likewise frequently styled *Tarbat* in North Britain. It is the opinion of many that they took this name from the above circumstance; *Tarruing* signifying to draw, and *Bata* a boat. This too might be called, by way of pre-eminence the *Tarbat*, from a very singular circumstance related by Torfaeus.

When Magnus the barefooted, king of Norway, obtained from *Donald-bane* of Scotland the cession of the Western isles, or all those places that could be surrounded in a boat, he added to them the peninsula of Cantyre by this fraud: he placed himself in the
stern

d) enge Thäler.

stern ^{e)} of a boat, held the rudder, was drawn over this narrow tract and by this species of navigation wrested ^{f)} the country from his brother monarch.

Insel Arran. Traditionen von Fingal.

In the evening of the same day we landed at the North end of the isle of *Arran*, or properly *Arr-in*. (the island of mountains) It is separated from Cantyre by a streight about eight miles wide.

By the immense *cairns*, the vast monumental stones and many reliques of druidism, this island must have been considerable in very ancient times. Here are still traditions of the hero Fingal, who is supposed here to have enjoyed the pleasures of the chace; and many places retain his name: but I can discover nothing but oral history that relates to the island, till the time of Magnus the barefooted, the Norwegian victor, who probably included Arran in his conquests of Cantyre.

Größe, Volksmenge und Klima der Insel Arran. Von den Einwohnern derselben, und ihrer kümmerlichen Lebensart.

Arran is still of great extent, being twenty-three miles in length, and the number of inhabitants are about seven thousand, who chiefly inhabit the coasts; the far greater part of the country being inhabitable by reason of the vast and barren mountains.

The climate is very severe; for besides the violence of winds the cold is very rigorous

e) *Hintertheil*.

f) *entwand*.

rous; and snow lay here in the vallies for thirteen weeks of the last winter. In summer the air is remarkably salubrious, and many invalids resort here on that account; and to drink the whey g) of goats milk.

The men are strong, tall and well made; all speak the Erse language, but the ancient habit is entirely laid aside. Their diet is chiefly potatoes and meal; and during winter, some dried mutton h) or goat is added to their hard fare. A deep dejection i) appears in general through the countenances of all: no time can be spared for amusement of any kind; the whole being given for procuring the means of paying their rent; or getting a scanty pittance k) of meal and cloathing.

Seeprospekt.

Weighing anchor next day, in the afternoon, we reached the harbour of Lamlaish, and proceeding from thence we got into the middle of the Firth, from whence we had a magnificent view on all sides; of Arran and Lamlaish and the coast of Cantyre on one side, and of the coasts of Cunningham and Carrick on the other. In front lay the hills of Galloway and the coast of Ireland; and the vast crag of Ailsa, appearing here like an inclined hay-cock l), rose in the midst of the channel.

Campbeltown, Hauptstadt von Cantyre.

Next day in the morning, we found ourselves within nine miles of Campbeltown, having

g) Molken.

h) geräuchertes Hammelfleisch.

i) Niedergeschlagenheit.

k) ein kümmerliches Bischen.

l) Henschober.

having to the South (near the end of Cantyre) Sanda, a high island, about two miles long, inhabited by four families. Near it is Sheep-Island; and a mile to the East lies Peterson's rock, dreaded by mariners. The Mull, or extremity of Cantyre, lies at a small distance beyond this groupe.

The harbour of Campbeltown widens to a considerable extent, is two miles in length, and of a considerable depth of water, even close to the town, which lies at the bottom.

Campbeltown is now a very considerable place, having risen from a petty fishing town to its present flourishing state in less than forty years. About the year 1744 it had only two or three small vessels belonging to the port: at present there are seventy-eight sail, from twenty to eighty tuns burthen, all built for, and employed in, the herring-fishery; and about eight hundred sailors are employed to man them.

The country, of which Campbeltown is the capital, is Cantyre, the most southern part of Argyleshire. The extremity, called the Mull of Cantyre, is noted for the violence of the adverse tides, compared to the force of a mill-race, from whence the modern name.

This peninsula, from the Tarbat to the Mull is above forty miles long and from five to twelve miles broad: is hilly, but, comparative to other parts, cannot be called mountainous: is open, and in general naked, but near Campbeltown are some thriving plantations.

Ankunft zu den Hebridischen Inseln.

Having carried the vessel round the Mull, we went along the western coast of Cantyre and landed on Gigha, an island about six miles long and one broad; the most eastern of the HEBRIDES. On the South of it is the little isle of Cara, divided by a narrow channel.

I was entertained with the variety and greatness of the views that bound the channel, the great Sound of Jura. To the east the mountains of Arran over-top the far-extending shores of Cantyre; to the West lies Jura mountainous and rugged; far to the North, just appears a chain of small isles, and to the South, the island of Rathry on the coast of Ireland, which stretches beyond far to the West.

The weather was extremely fine; but very calm. We attempted to steer for the island of Ilay, but in vain. This gave me ample time for reflection on the history and great events of the islands now in view, and of the others, the objects of the voyage.

Geschichte der Hebridischen Inseln.

From all that has been collected from the ancients, it appears, that they were acquainted with little more of the Ebudae (for so they called them) than the bare names. It is probable that the Romans, either from contempt of such barren spots, from the danger of seas, the violence of the tides, and horrors of the narrow sounds in the inexperienced ages of navigation, never attempted
their

their conquest, or saw more of them, than what they had in sight, during the few circumnavigations of Great Britain, which were expeditions more of ostentation than of utility.

It is very difficult to assign a reason for the change of name from Ebudae to Hebrides: the last is modern; and seems to have arisen from the error of a transcriber, who changed the *u* in *ri*.

No account is given in history of the time these islands were annexed to the government of Scotland. They appear to have been early under the dominion of the Picts. In the 9th century (875) Harald Harfager pursued several petty princes, whom he had expelled out of Norway; who had taken refuge in the Hebrides, and molested his dominions by perpetual descents from those islands, which now became tributary to the kingdom of Norway for a considerable time. At length they shook off the yoke; and put themselves (as it is supposed) under the protection of the Scottish monarchs.

In 1093 Donald-bane King of Scotland, called in the assistance of Magnus the barefooted, king of Norway, and bribed him with a promise of all the islands. Magnus accepted the terms, but at the same time boasted, that he did not come to invade the territories of others, but only to resume the ancient rights of Norway. His conquests were rapid and complete; for, besides the islands, by an ingenious fraud he added Cantyre to his dominions.

The Hebrides continued governed by a prince dependent on Norway, a species of vice-roy appointed by that court. Thus were the Hebrides governed from the conquest, by Magnus, till the year 1263, when Haquin, king of Norway, by an unfortunate invasion of Scotland, so weakened the powers of his kingdom, that his successor, Magnus IV, was content to make a cession of the islands to Alexander the 3d.

Notwithstanding this revolution, Scotland seems to have received no real acquisition of strength. The islands still remained governed by powerful chieftains, the descendants of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, who, marrying the daughter of Olave, king of Man, left a divided dominion to his sons Dugal and Reginald: from the first were descended the Mac-dougals of Lorn: from the last the powerful clan of the *Mac-donalds*. The lordship of Argyle with Mull, and the islands north of it fell to the share of the first; Ilay, Cantyre and the southern isles were the portion of the last: a division that formed the distinction of the *Suddereys* and *Nordereys*.

After their expulsion from the isle of Man, in 1304, the Mac-donalds made that of Ilay their residence. These chieftains were the scourges of the kingdom. They are known in history but as the devastations of a tempest; for their paths were marked with the most barbarous desolation. Encouraged by their distance from the seat of royalty; and the turbulence of the times, which gave their monarchs full employ, they exercised a regal power, and often assumed the title;

title; but are more generally known in history by the style of the *Lord of the isles*, or the Earls of Ross, and sometimes by that of the great *Mac-donald*.

In the beginning of the 15th century they were so independent, that Henry IV. entered into a formal alliance with the brothers Donald and John. This encouraged them to commit fresh hostilities against their natural prince. Donald, under pretence of a claim to the earldom of Ross, invaded and made a conquest of that country; but penetrating as far as the shire of Aberdeen, after a fierce but undecisive battle with the royal party, thought proper to retire, and in a little time to swear allegiance to his monarch James II. But he was permitted to retain the county of Ross, and assume the title of earl. His successor Alexander, at the head of ten thousand men, attacked and burnt Inverness: at length terrified with the preparations made against him, fell at the royal feet, and obtained pardon as to life, but was committed to strict confinement.

In the reign of James III, in the year 1461, Donald, another petty tyrant, an Earl of Ross, and lord of the isles, renewed the pretence of independency; surprized the castle of Inverness, forced his way as far as Athol, obliged the earl and countess, with the principal inhabitants, to seek refuge in the church of St. Bridget, in hopes of finding security from his cruelty by the sanctity of the place; but the barbarian and his followers set fire to the church, put the ecclesiastics to the sword, and, with a great booty, carried

the earl and countess prisoners to his castle of *Claig*, in the island of Ilay. In a second expedition, immediately following the first, he suffered the penalty of his impiety: a tempest overtook him, and overwhelmed most of his associates; and he, escaping to Inverness, perished by the hands of an Irish harper ^{m)}).

Edward IV. king of England condescended to enter into alliance with John Earl of Ross, but about the year 1476, Edward from a change of politics, courted the alliance of James III. king of Scotland, and dropt ⁿ⁾ his new allies. James now determined to subdue this rebellious race; sent against them a powerful army, under the Earl of Athol, and took leave of him with this good wish: *Furth, Fortune and fil the fetters:*, (i. e. Go forth, be fortunate, and bring home many captives) which the family of Athol have used ever since for its motto.

Ross was terrified into submission, obtained his pardon, but was deprived of his earldom, which, by act of parliament was then declared unalienably annexed to the crown. At the same time the king restored to him Knapdale and Cantyre, which the earl had resigned, and invested him anew with the lordship of the isles, to hold them of the king by service and relief.

Thus the great power of the isles was broken; yet for a considerable time after, the petty chieftains were continually breaking
out

m) *Harfenspieler.*

n) to drop *eigentlich: herabtröpfeln lassen. Hier soviel als: fahren lassen, verlassen.*

out into small rebellions, or harassed each other in private wars, and tyranny seems but to have been multiplied. James V. found it necessary to make the voyage of the isles in person; seized and brought away with him several of the most considerable leaders, and obliged them to find security for their good behaviour, and that of their vassals.

The troubles that succeeded the death of James occasioned a neglect of these insulated parts of the Scottish dominions, and left them in a state of anarchy. The turbulent spirit of the old times continued even to the present age. The heads of clans were, by the divisions, and a false policy, that predominated in Scotland during the reign of William III, flattered with an unreal importance; instead of being treated as bad subjects: they were courted as desirable allies; instead of feeling the hand of power: money was allowed to bribe them into the loyalty of the times. They were taught to believe themselves of such consequence that in these days turned to their destruction. Two recent rebellions gave legislature a late experience of the folly of permitting the feudal system to exist in any part of its dominions. The act of 1748, at once deprived the chieftains of all power of injuring the public by their commotions.

Fortsetzung der Reise. Insel Jura.

About twelve at noon a pleasant but adverse breeze arose, which obliged us to keep on towards the North, sometimes tacking towards the coast of lower Knapdale, black

with heathy mountains, verdant near the shores with tracts of corn.

At last, on the appearance of daylight, we found ourselves at anchor in a most picturesque bay, bounded on the West by the isle of Jura; and to the East several little islands cloathed with heath, leaving narrow admissions into the port at North and South.

Jura, the most rugged of the Hebrides, is reckoned to be about thirty-four miles long, and in general ten broad, except along the sound of Ilay: is composed chiefly of vast mountains, naked and without the possibility of cultivation. Some of the South, and a little of the western sides only are improveable: as is natural to be supposed, this island is ill-peopled, and does not contain above seven or eight hundred inhabitants; having been a little thinned by the epidemic migrations.

Ausicht von der Insel Jura her nach den umliegenden Gegenden.

Having gained the top of one of those high hills which here are called Paps we found our fatigues fully recompensed by the grandeur of the prospect from this sublime spot. Jura itself afforded a stupendous scene of rock, varied with little lakes innumerable. To the South appeared Ilay, extended like a map beneath us; and beyond that, the North of Ireland; to the East Gigha and Cara; Cantyre and Arran, and the Firth of Clyde, bounded by Airshire; an amazing tract of mountains to the North East as far as Ben-lomond; Skarba finished the Northern view; and over the

the Western ocean was scattered Colonsay and Oronsay, Mull, Jona, and its neighbouring groupe of isles; and still further the long extents of Tirey and Col just apparent.

Insel Ilay. Ehemalige Zufluchtsörter der Einwohner bei feindlichen Einfällen. Ehemalige Residenz und Gerichtshof des grossen Mac-donald.

The isle of Ilay, Isla or Ile, is of a square form, deeply indented on the South by the great bay of Loch-an-daal; divided from Jura by the sound, which is near fourteen miles long, and about one broad.

The face of the island is hilly, but not high. The land in many parts is excellent, but much of it is covered with heath, and absolutely in a state of nature.

Cross the Sound, land at the island of Ilay, and walk into the interior parts of it. Here and there I found small holes, formed in the ground, large enough to hold a single man in a sitting posture. The top is covered with a broad stone, and that with earth. Into these unhappy fugitives took shelter after a defeat, and drawing together sods o) found a temporary concealment from enemies, who in early times knew not the giving or receiving of quarter. The incursions of barbarians were always short; so that the fugitives could easily subsist in their earths till the danger was over. Men were then almost in a state of nature; how strong was their resemblance to beasts of prey!

Loch-finlagan, a narrow piece of water, is celebrated for its isle, a principal residence of

o) *Rasen, Erdschollen.*

of the great Mac-donald. The ruins of his palace and chapel still exist, and also the stone on which he stood when he was crowned king of the isles.

Near this is another little isle, where he assembled his council: *Ilan na Corlle*, or, The island of council; where thirteen judges constantly sate to decide differences among his subjects; and received for their trouble the eleventh part of the value of the affair tried before them.

Von den Eingebornen der Insel Ilay, und ihrer traurigen Verfassung.

The natives of this isle are a set of people worn down with poverty; their habitations scenes of misery, made of loose stones; without chimnies, without doors, excepting the faggot p) opposed to the wind at one or other of the appertures, permitting the smoke to escape through the other, in order to prevent the pains of suffocating. The furniture perfectly corresponds: a pot-hook q) hangs from the middle of the roof, with a pot pendent over the fire, filled with a fare, that may rather be called a permission to exist, than a support of vigorous life: the inmates, r), as may be expected, lean, withered s), dusky and smoke-dried. But my picture is not of this island only.

Inseln Oransay und Colonsay.

About eight or nine miles from the mouth of the Sound lie the isles of Oransay and

p) Holzbündel.

q) Haken, daran man einen Topf über das Feuer hängt.

r) Miethsleute, Inwohner. s) verwelkt, abgezehrt.

and Colonsay, to which we passed over on the 6th of July, and landed at Oransey.

St. Columba, when he left Ireland, made a vow, never to settle within sight of his native country: accordingly when he and his friend Oran landed here, they ascended a hill, and Ireland appeared full in view. This induced the holy man to make a sudden retreat; but Oran had the honour of giving name to the island.

Oransey is three miles long: the south part low and sandy, the rest high and rocky. Is divided from Colonsay by a narrow sound dry at low water.

Cross the sound and enter the island of Colonsay, twelve miles long, three broad, full of rocky hills.

*Insel Jona. Legende von dem heiligen Columba.
Schicksal des von ihm gestifteten Ordens.*

On the 8th of July, in the morning, we sailed for Jona; but our course was greatly delayed ^{t)} by calms. Towards evening we arrived within sight of that celebrated island, and a tremendous chain of rocks, lying to the South of it, rendered more horrible by the perpetual noise of breakers ^{u)}. We deferred our entrance into the Sound till daylight, and about eight of the clock in the morning anchored in the sound of Jona the most celebrated of the Hebrides.

The island is three miles long and one broad. The number of inhabitants is about a hun-

t) verzögert.

u) Wellen, die sich an einem Felsen oder einer Sandbank brechen.

hundred and fifty; the most stupid and the most lazy of all the islanders; yet many of them boast of their descent from the companions of St. Columba.

Jona derives its name from a Hebrew word, signifying a dove, in allusion to the name of the great saint, Columba, the founder of its fame. This holy man, instigated by his zeal, left his native country, Ireland, in the year 565, with the pious design of preaching the gospel to the Picts. It appears that he left his native soil with warm resentment, vowing never to make a settlement within sight of that hated island. He made his first trial at Oransay, and on finding that place too near to Ireland, succeeded to his wish at *Hy*, for that was the name of Jona at the time of his arrival.

Columba was soon distinguished by the sanctity of his manners: a miracle that he wrought so operated on the Pictish king, Bradeus, that he immediately made a present of the little isle to the saint. It seems that his majesty had refused Columba an audience; and even proceeded so far as to order the palace gates to be shut against him; but the saint, by the power of his word, instantly caused them to fly open.

As soon as he was in possession of Jona he founded a cell of monks, borrowing his institutions from a certain oriental monastic order. Columba led here an exemplary life, and was highly respected for the sanctity of his manners, for a considerable number of years. At length worn out with age, he died in Jona, in the arms of his disciples,
was

was interred there, but (as the Irish pretend) in after-times translated to Down, where, according to the epitaph, his remains were deposited with those of St. Bridget and St. Patric:

The religious continued unmolested during two centuries: but in the year 807. we re attacked by the Danes, who with their usual barbarity put part of the monks to the sword, and obliged the remainder, to seek safety by flying from their rage. The monastery remained depopulated for seven years; but on the retreat of the Danes received a new order, which continued till the dissolution x), when the revenues were united to the see of Argyle.

Von Jona nach Mull. Inseln mit natürlichen Felsensäulen.

On the 11th of July at eight of the clock in the morning, with the first fair wind we yet had, set sail for the sound. The view of Jona, its town, and the fertility of the ground, were fine contrasts, in our passage, to the red granite rocks of the barren Mull.

Loch Screban, in Mull, soon opens to our view. After passing a cape, placed in our maps far too projectingly y), see *Loch-in-a-Gaal*, a deep bay with the isles of Ulva and Gomedra, and several other lesser ones, in its mouth. On the West appears the beautiful groupe of the *Treashunish* isles. These are most erroneously placed in the maps, a very considerable distance too far to the North.

Nea-

x) *Aufhebung der Klöster.*

y) *hervorstehend.*

Nearest lies *Staffa*, rising amidst the waves, with its columns glossy ^{z)} and resplendent from the beams of the Eastern sun. Their greatest height was at the Southern point of the isle, of which they seemed the support. They decreased in height in proportion as they advanced along that face of *Staffa* opposed to us, or the Eastern side; at length appeared lost in the formless strata, and the rest of the island that appeared to us was formed of slopes to the water edge, or of rude but not lofty precipices. Over part of the isle, on the Western side, was plainly to be seen a vast precipice, seemingly columnar like the preceeding. I wished to make a nearer approach, but the prudence of Mr. Thompson, who was unwilling to venture in these rocky seas, prevented my farther search of this wondrous isle. I could do no more than cause an accurate view to be taken of its Eastern side, and of those of the other picturesque islands then in sight.

In the sound of Mull we came to anchor on the Morvern side, opposite to a gentleman's house. The owner of it, Mr. Maclean, having found out, who we were, very cordially asked us ashore: we accepted his invitation, and arrived at his house, where we met an English gentleman, Mr. Leach, who no sooner saw us than he told us, that about nine leagues from us was an island on which were pillars like those of the Giant's Causeway ^{a)}. This was a great object to me;

^{z)} glänzend.

^{a)} Riesenpfad, Riesendamm. (Eine Naturmerkwürdigkeit dieses Namens in Irland.)

me; I therefore resolved to proceed directly. Having therefore put up two days provisions, we put off in the boat about one o'clock for our intended voyage.

We arrived at the South West part of the island, the seat of the most remarkable pillars, where we no sooner arrived, than we were struck with a scene of magnificence which exceeded our expectations, though formed, as we thought, upon the most sanguine foundations: the whole of that end of the island supported by ranges of natural pillars, mostly above 50 feet high standing in natural colonnades, according as the bays or points of land formed themselves: upon a firm basis of solid unformed rock.

Compared to this what are the cathedrals or the palaces built by man! mere models or playthings^{b)}; imitations as diminutive as his works will always be when compared to those of nature. Where is now the boast of the architect! Regularity, the only part in which he fancied himself to exceed his mistress, Nature, is here found in her possession, and here it has been for ages undescribed; for among the thousands who have navigated these seas, none have paid the least attentions to Staffa and its grand and striking characteristic.

Fingalshöle.

With our minds full of such reflections we proceeded along the shore, till in a short time we arrived at the mouth of a cave, the

^{b)} *Spielwerke.*

the most magnificent, I suppose, that has even been described by travellers.

The mind can hardly form an idea more magnificent than such a space, supported on each side by ranges of columns, and roofed by the bottoms of those, which have been broke off in order to form it. To render the scene still more agreeable, the whole is lighted from without; so that the farthest extremity is very plainly seen from without, and the air within being agitated by the flux and reflux of the tides, is perfectly dry and wholesome, free entirely from the damp vapours with which natural caverns in general abound.

We asked the name of it, and heard that it was the cave of *Fhinn Mac Coul*, whom the translator of Ossian's works has called Fingal.

The stone of which the pillars are formed, is a genuine mass of Basaltes, very much resembling the Giant's causeway in Ireland.

Ankunft auf der Insel Cannay. Kirchlicher Zustand dieser und der benachbarten Inseln.

Proceeding with a fine breeze, in our course I observed at a distance *Tirey* or *Tir-I*, famous for its great plain, and the breed of little horses. To the North, separated from *Tirey* by a small sound, is the isle of *Col*.

At seven o' clock in the evening we found ourselves at anchor in the snug ^{c)} harbour of the isle of Cannay opposite to Rum, and about three miles distant.

This

c) heimlich und sicher.

This island, (Cannay) Rum, Muck and Egg form one parish. Cannay is inhabited by two hundred and twenty souls; of which all, except four families, are Roman Catholics; but in the whole parish there is neither church, nor school: there is indeed in this island a catechist, who has nine pounds a year from the royal bounty. The minister and the popish priest reside in Egg; but by reason of the turbulent seas that divide these isles, are very seldom able to attend their flocks. I admire the moderation of their congregations, who attend the preaching of either indifferently as they happen to arrive.

Insel Skie. Trauriges Loos der Einwohner.

On the 15th of July, at one o' clock at noon we sailed from Rum, with a favourable and brisk gale, for the isle of Skie. Leaving the point of Slate (at the South end of that great island) to the left, we arrived at Loch-Doal, which pierces the island on the South side. Skie is so divided by branches of the sea, that there is not a place five miles distant from a port; such numbers of good harbours are there in a place destitute of trade, and without a single town.

Passing northwards through a narrow and short sound, we arrived in a fine expanse, beautifully land-locked by the mainland, (part of Ross-shire) the islands of *Rona* and *Croulin*; *Rasa*, *Scalpa* and the low verdant isle of *Pabay*. Skie shews a verdant slope for part of its shore: beyond soar conic naked hills and ragged heights.

This island is the largest of the Hebrides, being above sixty measured miles long: the breadth unequal, by reason of the numbers of lochs, that penetrate far on both sides. The modern name is of Norwegian origin, derived from *Ski* a mist; and from the clouds (that almost constantly hang on the tops of its lofty hills) was styled *Ealand skianach*, or, the cloudy island. No epithet could better suit the place; for, except in the summer season, there is scarcely a week of fair weather: the summers themselves are also generally wet, and seldom warm.

The produce of the crops ^{d)} very rarely are in any degree proportioned to the wants of the inhabitants: golden seasons have happened, when they have had superfluity; but the years of famine are as ten to one. The helps of the common years are Potatoes: it is difficult to say, whether the discovery of America by the Spaniards has contributed to preserve more lives by the introduction of this vegetable, or to have caused more to perish by the insatiable lust after the pretious metals of the new world.

Migrations and depression of spirit have, since the year 1750 reduced the number of inhabitants from fifteen thousand to between twelve and thirteen: one thousand having crossed the Atlantic, others sunk beneath poverty, or in despair, ceased to obey the first great command *encrease and multiply*.

In-

d) *Erndten*.

Insel Lewis.

From the north part of Skie I had a full view of the isle of Lewis, and of the fine harbour and town of Stornoway. It was my intention to have steered ^{e)} for that port, but was dissuaded from it by the accounts I had from the gentlemen of Skie, that a putrid fever ^{f)} raged there with great violence.

* * *

Allgemeiner Bericht

von den

HEBRIDISCHEN INSELN.

Naturbeschaffenheit und Produkte derselben.

Among the Hebrides I found in general many large and fair islands, containing extensive fields of land naturally endowed with an uncommon degree of fertility; and many tracts of much larger extent, consisting of soil, that, by a skilful culture, might be converted into corn-fields, which would furnish subsistence to a great number of people. The climate in these islands is more favourable for bringing corn to maturity, and the harvest is there for the most part earlier than on the parallel coasts of Scotland; and lime-stone ^{g)} and marle which are the manures best calculated for improving the soils, abound so much, that one or other of these manures could be got in every place at a very moderate

C 3

^{e)} to steer *steuern*.

^{f)} *Faulfieber*.

^{g)} *Kalkstein*.

rate expence, were there any sufficient stimulus to excite the industry of the people in this respect.

These islands contain many other products of great value: Such as, very fine slate ^{h)}, at Easdale and the neighbouring islands. Lead-ore ⁱ⁾ of the richest quality in Ilay, which never yet has been thoroughly worked. Copper, sulphur, emery ^{k)}, in the same island; and iron-ore, of a remarkably fine quality, there and in other places. Fine marble in Tirey, which has been but of late discovered, and which by all judges, even Italians themselves, is reckoned superior to the richest Italian marble yet known. Statuary marble in Sky, which, when polished, possesses the warm softness that is so much admired in the ancient statuary marble, and which had been searched for in vain by the moderns for several ages. Pure crystalline sand, fit for making the finest kinds of glass, and many other valuable products (which it would be tiresome to enumerate) that are already known, though there are doubtless many others that have not yet been thought of, which curious observers would discover when these countries shall come to be more particularly attended to.

Such a valuable article as coal, must not here be allowed to escape notice. And it was not without a very sensible pleasure, that I found such strong indications of it in many parts. Coal has with certainty been found in the Island of Bute: specimens of it, though in very small veins, are said to have been found

^{h)} Schiefer. ⁱ⁾ Bleierz. ^{k)} Schmergel.

found in Ilay. It has been actually worked and burnt by the neighbouring people, in several places in the island of Mull: it has been found at Loch - Alin and Loch - Sunart, in the districts called Murven and Ardnamurchan: several veins of it have been found in Cannay, and also in Sky. In all these, and perhaps in other places that I could not hear of, coal has been found, though the present state of these countries does not admit of coal being worked there with profit; on which account, this treasure, like many others in those islands, has not been of any use to the public, nor benefit to individuals.

Among the animal productions, these islands possess two articles singularly precious which have scarcely as yet been considered as of any value by the inhabitants; Eider down ^{l)}, and wool of a kind extremely valuable, being not only fine in quality, but possessing a peculiar silky softness and elasticity that is not to be equalled by any other wool yet known in Europe.

Along the extended coasts of these islands is produced a great quantity of sea - weed ^{m)}, from which is made annually many thousand tons of kelp ⁿ⁾. This is a manufacture which was introduced there only about thirty years
C 4 ago,

l) Die Eidergans (oder der Eidervogel) ist eine Art nordischer Wasservogel mit sehr weichen Federn: letztere heißen daher Eider down, Eiderdunen.

m) Meergras.

n) Aschensalz. Eine Asche, die aus dem Meergras und der sogenannten Seekrappe verfertigt wird. Sie ist gut für das wilde Fleisch in bösen Schäden, und bringt bei dem Glasschmelzen die zerstoßenen Steine in den Fluß.

ago, in the management of which the people are daily improving, and the quantity produced is thus augmenting from year to year. Several sea-plants, they now find, yield kelp of a very fine quality, that were thought, a few years ago to be incapable of furnishing any alkali at all, and which are therefore suffered to lie neglected on many shores to this day; so that there is still great room for improvement in this respect.

Häfen. Gefährvolle Schiffahrt in diesen Gegenden.

In these islands, and along the west coasts of Scotland, there are many of the finest natural harbours that are to be seen in the world; but these, from the want of proper surveys, are not yet thoroughly known, and, for want of distinguishing land marks, can scarcely be discovered by a stranger: And as no buoys *) are placed on sunk rocks to point out their position exactly, many of these harbours cannot be entered with safety by such as are not perfectly well acquainted with them.

For these reasons, together with the want of one or two light houses, the navigation of those seas is difficult and hazardous to strangers, though it might be easily rendered the safest navigation of any narrow seas in the known world; for, there (except on the west coast of Cantire) no wind can blow that would not

*) Buoy Niedersächsisch Boy, heisst in der Schiffahrt ein Stück Holz, Kork, oder eine Tonne, welche vermittelst eines an einem Seile befindlichen, und auf den Grund hinabgelassenen Gewichts auf dem Wasser schwimmend erhalten wird, um gefährliche Stellen, den Ort des Ankers u. s. w. zu bezeichnen.

not admit of entering a safe harbour to leeward p).

Fischreiche Seen.

The seas surrounding these islands, abound with an immense variety of fish. Of the testaceous q) kind are found, in very great quantities, crabs and lobsters r) of the large size, and first quality. Great quantities of oysters of different kinds, some of them of a size uncommonly large.

All these and many other sorts of fish are now scarcely looked after, because no market is at hand, to which they could be carried with profit. The only kinds they attempt to catch for foreign markets, are cod, ling s) and herrings.

Heringfischerei.

Of herrings, which are a migratory fish, but whose natural history is as yet so imperfectly known as not to enable us to trace their progress, (the common received opinion on that head, of their regular progression from the north sea, being evidently erroneous) the quantities that might be caught on those coasts between the months of June and January, were the inhabitants in a situation that permitted them to follow that business, are so great as would appear altogether impossible to such as never have been on these coasts: but, from the mode in which the fishing

C 5

has

p) unter dem Winde.

q) was mit einer harten Schale versehen ist.

r) Taschenkrebse und Hummers.

s) cod und ling sind zwei Gattungen von Stockfisch.

has been hitherto carried on, it seldom happens that great benefit results from it to the natives.

Stockfischfang u. s. w.

During the months that the herrings disappear on the coast, that is from January to June, is the proper season for the cod and ling fishery; for, though cod, and many other kinds of fish, are always to be found in abundance on the out skirts ^{t)} of the herring shoals ^{u)} when they are on the coast, yet it is only during the months above named that they are in the highest perfection, or are found in plenty on their own proper banks, with such a degree of certainty as to induce fishermen to resort thither for catching them.

Besides these kinds of fish above specified, there are in those seas several other kinds, that are caught chiefly for the oil they afford. Whales, in great plenty, are seen in pursuit of the herrings when they are on the coast; but these are then so restless and active, that few of them have hitherto been killed. Vast numbers of porpoises ^{x)} are seen in flocks, also pursuing the herrings; but no economical mode of catching them has as yet been devised. It is only of late that they have found out a way of killing the basking ^{y)} shark ^{z)}, a large but harmless fish, which frequents those seas during the warm summer months, from the liver of which they extract
an

t) skirt das äußerste Ende, der Saum, die Gränze.

u) a shoal ein Zug Fische. x) Meeresschweine.

y) to bask sich sonnen.

z) Der zahnlose Hai, ein großer gefräßiger Seefisch.

an oil, which amply repays them for the trouble of catching it; so that the natives of those coasts are now become very alert in the pursuit of, and dexterous in killing them.

Great numbers of seals ^{a)} are found about the rocks on the small uninhabited islands in those seas. From the livers of dog fish, the people there extract an oil; and as shoals of these fish swarm amazingly thick on the west coast of Lewis, during the months of June, Jule and August, a very lucrative fishing in this article might there be carried on, were the people in circumstances that permitted it.

Einwohner der Hebridischen Inseln. Ihr politischer und häuslicher Zustand.

These islands contain a numerous race of hardy and robust people, whose labour, if properly directed, might prove of great utility to the State. From the information I received, on the truth of which I have reason entirely to rely, there cannot be at present in the islands of the Hebrides alone, less than eighty thousand souls: and these, notwithstanding the drains from thence for recruits to the navy and army, as well as by emigration are encreasing in a rapid progression. On the shores of the main land opposite to these islands, there may be about three times that number who are in situation and circumstances nearly similar to those in the islands.

All this numerous people, which (if the Orkney and Shetland islands were included, and the other parts of Scotland where the inhabitants are in similar circumstances) cannot be fewer than

^{a)} *Meerkäiber, Robben.*

than five hundred thousand souls, being totally unacquainted with the benefits that result from that compacted state of civil society, in which individuals can with ease mutually give and receive reciprocal aid, live at present in detached solitary hamlets, in want of most of those enjoyments which men who have lived in society would think absolutely necessary to existence. In *their* situation, every man is not only obliged to dig and reap with his own hand the little field that is to furnish bread to himself and family, but in many cases also to carry home its produce on his own shoulders to the barn, and to carry out the manures to his field in the same manner: he must also officiate as mason, smith, carpenter ^{b)}, cooper ^{c)}, and millar to himself: he must act as tanner ^{d)}, shoemaker, clothier ^{e)}, fuller ^{f)} and taylor. In short every necessary he wants, must be made by himself, with tools ^{g)} of his own forming; for he neither can find these articles to purchase near himself, nor can he sell any superfluous produce he might be able to spare, to yield him money to procure them. Thus are these people continually employed in an uninterrupted and fruitless industry, which is neither capable of freeing themselves from want, nor of benefiting the state. Those capital branches of employment, which in other circumstances might, if persevered in, furnish the means of a comfortable subsistence, must be so frequently interrupted by those other unprofitable, though unavoidable avocations, that it turns

b) Zimmermann.

c) Böttcher.

d) Lohgerber.

e) Tuchmacher.

f) Walker.

g) Werkzeuge.

turns out to be of very little benefit to them: and men who observe very little more of the mode of life of these persons, save that they frequently desert those employments that such observers think would turn out profitable to them, rashly conclude, that this proceeds from an unsteady disposition, a disinclination to labour, and an insuperable indolence of temperament.

Contumely is thus added to oppression, and the poor people are cruelly insulted and abused, instead of being tenderly sympathised with, and kindly supported and cherished: yet, though suffering, they complain not, but submit to their hard fate with a patient resignation; which strongly indicates that their hearts are uncorrupted, and that they may be easily led to undertake any useful employment that might be put within their reach.

From these causes, were none other to co-operate with them, the fishery never could be carried on by men so circumstanced, with advantage; and being unable to purchase boats and other apparatus for the fishery, they are obliged to rely upon the soil, as the surest means of finding subsistence. Little *possessions* (for *farms* they cannot be called) are sought after by them, with an avidity that is scarcely conceivable; and they cling ^{h)} to these with a degree of eagerness, which the wretchedness of their enjoyments would not seem to authorise. The tenure ⁱ⁾ by which these poor people hold these, is short and precarious, usually from year to year only; but sometimes it is extended to seven years, which

h) to cling *vest an etwas sich halten: worauf erpicht seyn.*

i) *Pacht oder Gerechtsigkeit auf den einstweiligen Besitze und Niesbrauch eines Guts.*

which is the longest term of a lease ^{k)} they ever obtain. Being thus continually in danger of being turned out by their superior, who for the most part is himself only a greater tenant ^{l)} they are obliged to submit to almost any conditions he pleases to impose upon them, which tends to render their lot still more uncomfortable than otherways it would have been.

This extreme dependence of the people of all these coasts upon the land, has suggested the idea to the possessors of it, in some places near the seashore, of making the poor people pursue the fishing for the profit of the superiors only. With this view, these superiors furnish to their immediate dependents, boats, and the necessary apparatus for fishing, for which they charge whatever rates they think proper to impose: they also lay in ^{m)} oat-meal, and other necessaries, which they give out to their dependents in small portions as it is wanted, at what prices they please to exact. To obtain payment for these articles, they take the people bound to go out a-fishing as often as possible, and (in some cases even upon oath) not to sell to any other person, any part of the fish they shall catch, but to bring them all to their superior, who agrees to take the whole at certain stipulated prices of his own making also. By which means, some of those superiors have contrived to squeeze ⁿ⁾ the poor people to the utmost degree they can possibly bear, and usually arrange matters so as to get them into their debt, so that they could lay hold of their little

k) *Verpachtung.*

l) *Pächter.*

m) to lay in *einkaufen, Vorrath anschaffen.*

n) *drücken, aussaugen.*

le all, should they happen to disoblige them. The poor people are then unable to find the means of emigrating to other countries, and dare not propose even to alter their situation at home, lest they might thus provoke their master to strip them of their all. They thus live in a state of hopeless indigence, and abject dependence, than which nothing worse can be well conceived.

Compared with these fishermen the people within land think themselves happy, which makes them shun ^{o)} the shores, and as much as possibly avoid entering into the fishing, though necessity frequently brings them to the rocks to fish with a rod ^{p)} for their own subsistence, and gather shell-fish among the stones, which, on many occasions, has saved the lives of thousands.

After all that, it is but justice to observe, that though things are in general, among those northern islands, conducted in the manner as is here represented, yet they are not universally so, and where the above-mentioned management does prevail, the services are not in all cases exacted with an equal degree of rigour; and that, by consequence, the people live more at their ease in some districts than in others, according as their superiors chance to be of a disposition more or less humane. The same thing must be experienced in all cases of slavery. It would appear invidious to enter farther into particulars on this head, which I therefore willingly decline.

^{o)} *fischen, meiden.*

^{p)} *Ruthe, Angelschnur.*

Westliche Küste des westen Landes von NORDBRITANNIEN.

Rückkehr dahin. Gegend um Loch Broom: gastfreundschaftlicher Charakter der Einwohner.

From the North of Skie we directed our course for Loch Broom, in the county of ROSS. About eight o' clock in the morning we found ourselves near a considerable number of small isles, with a most dreary appearance, miscalled the *Summer islands*. Within is a great bay, bounded by vast and barren mountains, patched ^{q)} with snow.

The country is a land of mountains, a mixture of rock and heath, with a few flats between them producing bear ^{r)} and black oats, but never sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants. Cattle are the great support of the country, and are sold to graziers, who come for them even as far as from Craven in Yorkshire, at the rate of thirty shillings to three pounds a head.

Kindness and hospitality possess the people of these parts. We scarce passed a farm but the good woman, long before our approach,

q) a patch eigentlich ein Schönpsfästerchen, oder ein Flicklappen, daher das Verbum patched, welches also eigentlich soviel bedeutet als: gestickt, oder: mit Schönpsfästerchen bedeckt. Hier ist (metaphorisch) von Bergen die Rede, die an einzelnen Stellen mit Schnee bedeckt sind.

r) Bärenklaub; (acanthus) eine Pflanze.

proach, sallied out ^{s)} and stood on the road side, holding out to us a bowl of milk or whey ^{t)}.

Heeringsfang in Loch Broom. Etwas von der Naturgeschichte dieses Fisches.

Loch Broom has been celebrated for three or four centuries as the resort of herrings. Those that turn into this bay are part of that great army that annually deserts the vast depths of the arctic circle, and come, heaven-directed, to the seats of population, offered as a cheap food to millions, whom wasteful luxury or iron-hearted avarice has deprived, by enhancing ^{u)} the price, of the wonted supports of the poor.

The migration of these fish from their northern retreat is regular: their visits to the Western isles and coasts, certain: but their attachment to one particular loch, extremely precarious. All have their turns; that which swarmed with fish one year, is totally deserted the following; yet the next loch to it be crowded with the shoals. These changes of places give often full employ to the buffes ^{x)}, who are continually shifting ^{y)} their harbour in quest of news respecting these important wanderers.

They commonly appear here in Juny; the latter end of August they go into deep water

^{s)} kamen herausgeplatzt. ^{t)} Molken, Wadike.

^{u)} to enhance steigern, übertreiben.

^{x)} eine Art kleiner Fahrzeuge zur Heringsfischerei, (Heringsbuisen).

^{y)} to shift verändern.

water, and continue there for some time, without any apparent cause. In November they return to the shallows ^{z)}, when a new fishery commences, which continues till January; at that time the herrings become full of roe ^{a)}, and are useless as articles of commerce. Some doubt, whether these herrings that appear in November, are not part of a new migration, for they are as fat, and make the same appearance, as those that composed the first.

The signs of the arrival of the herrings are flocks of gulls ^{b)}, who catch up the fish while they skim ^{c)} on the surface; and of gannets ^{d)}, who plunge and bring them up from considerable depths. Both these birds are closely attended to by the fishers.

Cod-fish, haddocks, and dog-fish ^{e)}, follow the herrings in vast multitudes. These voracious fish keep on the outides of the columns, and may be a concurrent reason of driving the shoals into bays and creeks. In summer they come into the bays generally with the warmest weather, and with easy gales. During Winter the hard gales from N. West are supposed to assist in forcing them into shelter. East winds are very unfavourable to the fishery.

In a fine day when the fish appear near the surface, they exhibit an amazing brilliancy of colors. All the various coruscations ^{f)} that dart

z) *feichte Plätze.*

a) *Rogen.*

b) *Mewen: Eine Art Seevögel.*

c) *streifen.*

d) *Rothgänse.*

e) *Stockfische, Kabbians und Hayfische.*

f) *Gefunkel, Glanz.*

dart g) from the diamond, sapphire and emerald, enrich their tract: but during night, if they play on the surface, the sea appears on fire, luminous as the brightest phosphorus.

During a gale, that part of the ocean which is occupied by the great shoals, appears as if covered, with the oil that is emitted from them.

They seem to be greatly affected by lightning. During that phaenomenon they sink towards the bottom, and move regularly in parallel shoals one above the other.

Dürftigkeit der Einwohner in der Nachbarschaft von Loch Broom.

Before I leave this bay it must be observed, that there are here a few, a very few of the natives who possess a boat and nets; and fish in order to sell the capture fresh to the buffes. The utmost these poor people can attain to are the boat and nets; they are too indigent to become masters of barrels ^{h)} or of salt, to the great loss of the public as well as themselves. Were magazines of salt established in these distant parts; was encouragement given to these distant Britons; so that they might be enabled, by degrees to furnish themselves with the requisites for fishing, they would soon form themselves into seamen, by the course of life they must apply themselves to; the buffes would be certain of finding a ready market of fish, ready cured ⁱ⁾; the natives taught industry, which would be quickened ^{k)} by the profits made by the com-

D. 2. mo.

g) hervorstralen, hervorschieszen.

h) Fässer, Tonnen.

i) eingemacht, eingesalzen.

k) belebt.

modity, which they might afford cheaper, as taken at their very doors, without the wear and tear ^{l)} of distant voyages, as is the present case.

*Der Heilige Marée. Dessen wunderthätiger
Brunnen. Wunderkuren.*

St. Marée is the patron of all the coast from Loch - Broom to Applecross: Loch Marée takes its name from him. This lake, which at the beginning is only half a mile broad, widens into a great bay, bending towards the South, about four miles in breadth, filled with little isles.

Inch - Marée is the favoured isle of St. Marée. The curiosity of the place is the well of the saint; of power unspeakable in cases of lunacy ^{m)}. The patient is brought into the sacred island, is made to kneel before the altar, where his attendants leave an offering in money: he is then brought to the well, and sips ⁿ⁾ some of the holy water: a second offering is made; that done, he is thrice dipped in the lake, and the same operation is repeated every day for some weeks: and it often happens, by natural causes, the patient receives relief, of which the saint receives the credit.

I must add, that the visitants draw from the state of the well an omen of the disposition of St Marée. If his well is full they suppose he will be propitious; if not, they proceed in their operation with fear and doubts: but let the event be what it will, he is held in high esteem: the common oath of the country is,

by
^{l)} Plackerei, Abnutzung. ^{m)} Mondsucht. ⁿ⁾ schlurft.

by his name: if a traveller passes by any of his resting - places, they never neglect to leave an offering; but the saint is so moderate as not to put him to any expence: a stone, a stick, a bit of rag ^{o)} contents him.

Towards the bottom of the lake is a headland ^{p)} finely wooded to the very summit. Here the water suddenly narrows to the breadth of a hundred yards, and continues so for near a mile, to the very extremity; from whence its waters, after the course of a mile, discharge into a deep and darksome hole, called *Pool - Ewe*, which opens into the large bay of *Loch - Ewe*.

Ankunft zu Gare - Loch. Einwohner dieser Gegend. Volksmenge.

Reach *Gare - Loch* consisting of a few scattered houses, on a fine bay of the same name. The parish of *Gare - Loch* is very extensive, and the number of inhabitants evidently encrease, owing to the simple method of life, and the conveniency they have of drawing a support from the fishery. If a young man is possessed of a herring - net a hand - line, and three or four cows, he immediately thinks himself able to support a family, and marries. The present number of souls are about two thousand eight hundred.

Mangel einer Stadt in dieser Gegend.

The want of a town is very sensibly felt in all those parts: there is no one commodity,

D 3

no

o) ein Stück Lumpen.

p) ein Vorgebirge.

no one article of life, or implement ^{q)} of fishery but what is gotten with difficulty, and at a great price, brought from a distance by those who are to make advantage of the necessities of the people. It is much to be lamented that after the example of the earl of Seaforth (by whose encouragement Stornaway in Lewis is now growing a considerable place) they do not collect a number of inhabitants by granting leases ^{r)} for a length of years for building. But still so much of the spirit of the chieftains remains, that they dread giving an independency to their people: a false policy! as it would enrich both parties, and make the landlord more respectable, as master of a set of decent tenants, than of thousands of bare-footed half starved vassals.

Fortsetzung der Reise zur See.

At Loch-Broom I had directed Mr. Thompson to sail and wait for us at Gare-Loch. We found our vessel safely arrived at anchor with many others. We weighed and got under sail with a good breeze, passing by the mouth of Loch Torridon, and a few leagues farther by Apple-crofs bay, small, with populous and well cultivated shores. The back ground most uncommonly mountainous.

On the right leave the isles of Rona, Rasa and Scalpa: pass the sound between Skie and Kintail, and land on the East side in the parish of Glen-Elg in the county of *Inverness*.

Loch

q) *Zubehör, Geräthschaft.*

r) *Fristen, auf Pacht, oder emphytelitische Contracte.*

Loch Urn: Naturscenen um demselben: Geisterbannereien, zu welchen sie Anlaß gegeben haben.

Weigh anchor at eight o' clock in the morning, and turn out with wind and tide adverse. After a struggle of three or four miles, put into Loch - Urn, or the lake of hell, on the Inverness coast.

The scene that surrounds the whole of this lake, has an Alpine wildness and magnificence; the hills of an enormous height, and for the most part clothed with extensive forests of oak and birch, often to the very summits. In many places are extensive tracts of open space, verdant, and only varied with a few trees scattered over them: amidst the thickest woods aspire vast, grey rocks, a noble contrast! nor are the lofty headlands a less embellishment; for through the trees that wave on their summit, is an awful sight of sky, and spiring ^{s)} summits of vast mountains.

On the South side are vast numbers of pines scattered among the other trees, and multitudes of young ones springing up.

It is not wonderful, that the imagination, amidst these darksome and horrible scenes, should figure to itself ideal beings, once the terror of the superstitious inhabitants. In less-enlightened times a dreadful spectre haunted these hills, sometimes in form of a great dog, a man, or a thin gigantic hag ^{t)} called *Glas-lich*. The exorcist was called in to drive away these evil *Genii*. He formed circle within circle, used a multitude of charms,

D 4

for-

s) emporstrebende, aufgethürmte.

t) Hexe.

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D 4

for-

s) emporstrebende, aufgethürmte.

t) Hexe.

forced the Daemon from ring to ring ^{u)} till he got it into the last entranchment, when, if it proved very obstinate, by adding new spells ^{x)}, he never failed of conquering the evil spirit.

Merkmale des Gewerbfleißes in dieser Gegend.

In our return from the extremity of this sequestered spot, I was most agreeably amused with meeting at least a hundred boats, rowing to the place we were leaving, to lay their nets; while the persons on shore were busied in lighting fires and preparing a repast for their companions, against their return from their toilsome work.

So unexpected a prospect of the busy haunt of men and ships in this wild and romantic tract, afforded this agreeable reflection: that there is no part of our dominion so remote, so inhospitable, and so unprofitable, as to deny employ and livelihood to thousands; and that there are no parts so polished, so improved and so fertile, but which must stoop to receive advantage from the dreary spots they so affectedly despise; and must be obliged to acknowledge the mutual dependency of part on part howsoever remotely placed, and howsoever different in modes or manner.

Schnelle Civilisirung dieser Gegend, die vor nicht langer Zeit noch ein Aufenthalt von Räubern war.

Religiöser Charakter dieser Räuber.

There is not an instance of any country having made so sudden a change in its morals as this I have just visited, and the vast tract in-

^{u)} Kreis.

^{x)} Zaubersprüche.

intervening between these coasts and Loch-Nefs. Security and civilisation possess every part; yet forty years have not elapsed since the whole was a den ^{y)} of thieves, of the most extraordinary kind. They conducted their plundering excursions with the utmost policy, and reduced the whole art of theft into a regular system. From habit it lost all the appearance of criminality: they considered it as labouring in their vocation; and when a party was formed for any expedition against their neighbour's property, they and their friend prayed as earnestly to heaven for success, as if they were engaged in the most laudable design.

They paid a sacred regard to their oath; but as superstition must, among a set of Banditti, infallibly supersede ^{z)} piety, each had his particular object of veneration: one would swear upon his *dirk* ^{a)}, and dread the penalty of perjury; yet make no scruple of forswearing himself upon the bible; a second would pay the same respect to the name of his chieftain: a third again would be most religiously bound by the sacred book: and a fourth, regard none of the three, and be credited only if he swore by his crucifix. It was always necessary to discover the inclination of the person, before you put him to the test ^{b)}: if the object of his veneration was mistaken, the oath was of no signification.

D 5

Noch

y) Höhle.

z) verdrängen, den Vorzug behaupten.

a) Dolch (ein altes schottisches Wort.)

b) auf die Probe.

Noch einiges von dem Charakter, und der Verfassung dieser Schottischen Banditen.

The greatest robbers were used to preserve hospitality to those that came to their houses, and like the wild Arabs, observed the strictest honour towards their guests, or those that put implicit confidence in them. The *Kennedies*, two common thieves, took the young Protector under protection, and kept him with faith inviolate, notwithstanding they knew an immense reward was offered for his head. They often robbed for his support, and to supply him with linnen they once surprized the baggage horses ^{c)} of one of our general officers. They often went in disguise to Inverness to buy provisions for him. At length, a very considerable time after, one of these poor fellows, who had virtue to resist the temptation of thirty thousand pounds, was hanged for stealing a cow, value thirty shillings.

The greatest crime among these felons ^{d)} was that of infidelity among themselves: the criminal underwent a summary trial ^{e)}, and, if convicted, never missed of a capital punishment. The chieftain had his officers, and different departments of government; he had his judge, to whom he entrusted the decision of all civil disputes: but in criminal causes, the chief, assisted perhaps by some favourites, always undertook the process.

The principal men of his family, or his officers, formed his council; where every thing

c) Packpferde.

d) Missethäter, Böfewichter.

e) Verhör.

thing was debated respecting their expeditions. Eloquence was held in great esteem among them; for by that they could sometimes work on their chieftain to change his opinion; for, notwithstanding he kept the from of a council, he always reserved the decisive vote to himself.

When one man had a clame ^{f)} on another, but wanted power to make it good, it was held lawful for him to steal from his debtor as many cattle as would satisfy his demand, provided he sent notice (as soon as he got out of reach of pursuit) that he had them, and would return them, provided satisfaction was made on a certain day agreed on.

When a *Creach* (great expedition) had been made against distant herds, the owners, as soon as discovery was made, rose in arms, with all their friends, made instant pursuit, tracing the cattle by their track ^{g)} for perhaps scores ^{h)} of miles. Their nicety in distinguishing that of their cattle from those that were only casually wandering, or driven, was amazingly sagacious. As soon as they arrived on an estate, where the track was lost, they immediately attacked the proprietor, and would oblige him to recover the track from his land forwards, or to make good the loss they had sustained. This custom had the force of law, which gave to the high-

f) Foderung.

g) Spur, Fußstapfen.

h) Das Wort score ist im Englischen für die Zahl 20 das, was im Deutschen das Wort Dutzend für 12; oder Mandel für 15, ist.

highlanders this surprizing skill in the art of tracking ⁱ⁾).

It has been observed before, that to steal, rob and plunder with dexterity, was esteemed as the highest act of heroism. The feuds ^{k)} between the great families was one great cause. There was not a chieftain but that kept, in some remote valley in the depth of woods and rocks, whole tribes of thieves in readiness to let loose against his neighbours; when, from some public or private reason, he did not judge it expedient to resent openly any real or imaginary affront. From this motive the greater chieftain-robbers always supported the lesser, and encouraged no sort of improvement on their estates but what promoted rapine.

Einige der merkwürdigsten Häupter jener Räuberbanden.

1. Sir Ewin Cameron

was the greatest of the heroes in the last century. He long resisted the power of Cromwell, but at length was forced to submit. He lived in the neighbourhood of the garrison fixed by the usurper at *Inver-lochy*. His vassals persisted in their thefts, 'till Cromwell sent orders to the commanding-officer, that on the next robbery he should seize on the chieftain, and execute him in twenty four hours, in case the thief was not delivered to justice. An act of rapine soon happened: Sir Ewin received the message: who, instead of giving himself the trouble of looking out for the offender, laid hold on the first fellow he

i) auszuspiiren.

k) Fehden, Feindseligkeiten.

he met with, sent him bound to Inver-lochy, where he was instantly hanged. Cromwell, by this severity, put a stop to these excesses, 'till the time of the restoration ¹⁾, when they were renewed with double violence, 'till the year 1745.

2. Rob-Roy

was another distinguished Hero in the latter end of the last, and the beginning of the present century. He contributed greatly towards forming his profession into a science, and establishing the police above-mentioned. The duke of Montrose unfortunately was his neighbour: Rob-Roy frequently saved his Grace the trouble of collecting his rents; used to extort ^{m)} them from the tenants, and at the same time give them formal discharges ⁿ⁾. But it was neither in the power of the duke or of any of the gentlemen he plundered to bring him to justice, so strongly protected was he by several great men to whom he was useful.

Roy had his good qualities: he spent his revenue generously; and — strange to say! — was a true friend to the widow and orphan.

3. Lewis Cameron.

Every period of time gives new improvement to the arts. A son of Sir Ewin Cameron, refined on those of Rob-Roy, and instead of dissipating his gains, accumulated wealth. He,

1) *Wiederherstellung (der königlichen Würde nehmlich).*

m) *erpressen.*

n) *Quittungen.*

He, like Jonathan Wild the Great, never stole with his own hands, but conducted his commerce with an address, and to an extent unknown before. He employed several companies, and set the more adroit knaves at their head; and never suffered merit to go unrewarded. He never openly received their plunder; but employed agents to purchase from them their cattle. He acquired considerable property, which he was forced to leave behind, after the battle of *Culloden* gave the fatal blow to all his greatness.

4. Barrisdale.

The last of any eminence was this celebrated Barrisdale, who carried these arts to the highest pitch of perfection: besides exalting all the common practices, he improved the article of commerce called the *black-meal* to a degree beyond what was ever known to his predecessors. This was a forced levy ^{o)} so called from its being commonly paid in meal, which was raised far and wide on the estate of every nobleman and gentleman, in order, that their cattle might be secured from the lesser thieves, over whom he secretly presided, and protected. He raised an income of five hundred a year by these taxes, and behaved with genuine honour in restoring, on proper consideration, the stolen cattle of his friends. He was a man of a polished behaviour, fine address, and fine person. He considered himself in a very high light, as a benefactor to the public, and preserver of general tranquillity; for on the silver plates,
the

^{o)} *Anlage, Schatzung.*

the ornaments of his baldrick p), he thus addresses his broad - sword q):

Hae tibi erunt artes: pacis componere mores,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

*Verfolg der Reisebeschreibung. Eine Erscheinung
auf der See zur Nachtzeit.*

Return on board at midnight: the night was excessively dark, but every stroke of our oars, every progressive motion of our board flung a most resplendent glory around, and left so long a luminous a train in our wake r), as more than compensated the want of stars in the firmament. This appearance was occasioned by myriads of noctilucous s) Nereids, that inhabit the ocean, and on every agitation become at certain times apparent, and often remain sticking to the oars, and, like glow - worms t) give a fine light.

After a most tempestuous and rainy night, sail at eight o' clock in the morning; pass on the East *Loch - Nevish* and *Poll - Morrer*. About half a mile inland from this bay is the great fresh water lake called *Loch - Morrer*: next is the country of *Arisaig*, and its celebrated point u): for within this, a little to the South, in *Loch na Nua* landed the young pre-

p) Gürtel, Wehrgehörk.

q) Degen mit einer breiten Klinge: Schwerdt.

r) Die Furche, die ein fahrendes Schiff im Wasser hinter sich läßt.

s) bei Nacht leuchtend.

t) Johanniswürmchen.

u) Auf Kitchins Karte Point of Arisaick genannt.

pretender on July 25, 1745; and from hence concluded his Phaetontic expedition, Septbr. 20th. of the following year.

Sail by *Loch Hallyort* and the country of *Moydart*, the most southerly part of the shire of *Inverness*; and then, turning West, pass under the point of *Ardnamurchan*, the most northern part of *Argyleshire*. Turn into the Sound of Mull, a fine opening five miles broad: to the East is *Loch - Sunart*, penetrating deeply into *Morvern* the celebrated country of *Fingal*.

Leave on that side *Loch - Aylin*, a safe harbour with a most contracted entrance. Somewhat below, on the Mull side, is *Castle - Duart* once the seat of the *Macleans*, lords of the island.

Traverse the broad water of *Loch - Linnhe*, (which leads up to *Lochaber*) and land near the North end of the isle of *Lismore*. From thence, getting again on board, and leaving the Slate island of *Eusdale* to the East, and close to it *Suil* and *Lung*, we anchored beneath the vast mountain of *Scarba*; an island of great height, about five miles long, chiefly covered with heath, but on this side are some woods and marks of cultivation.

Mr. Macleane, the proprietor, lives on this side. He favoured us with a visit, and offered his service to shew us the celebrated.

Corry Vreckan Gulph;

which we did not wait till morning to see, as our expectations were raised to the highest pitch, and we thought of nothing less, than that it would prove a second *Mal -strom*. We accordingly

dingly took a most fatiguing walk up the mountain, through heath of an uncommon height, swarming with grouse *). We arrived in an ill hour; for the tide did not suit, and we saw little more than a very strong current.

Next day in the morning we took boat; and after rowing two miles, landed and walked along the rocks till we reached a fit place for surveying that phaenomenon. The channel between this island and Iura is about a mile broad, exposed to the weight of the Atlantic, which pours in its waters here with great force, their course being directed and confined by the sound between Colonsay and Mull. The tide had at this time made two hours flood, and ran with a furious current, great boilings, attended with much foam; and in many places formed considerable whirlpools. On the side of Iura the current dashes, as is reasonable to suppose, against some sunk rocks. It forms there a most dreadful back-tide, which in tempests catches up the vessels that the whirl-pools fling into it; so that almost certain destruction attends those that are so unfortunate as to be forced in at those seasons. It was our ill-luck to see it in a very pacific state, and passable without the least hazard.

Schieferinseln.

Having left Scarba I took boat and visited Eusdale the noted slate island; whose length is about half a mile, and composed
enti-

x) *Bonasia Scotica*, das Rothhuhn, eine Schottland eigenthümliche Art Feldhühner.

entirely of slate. In order to be raised, it is at first blasted y) with powder; the greater pieces are then divided, carried off in wheel-barrows z), and lastly split into the merchantable a) sizes.

There are many other good slate quarries in this neighbourhood, as on the isles of *Suil*, *Lung*, *Rerrera*, and some few opposite to them on the coast of *Nether-Lorn*.

Ende der Reise.

At the North point of *Suil* we turned into the narrow strait which divides that island from *Lora*, and arrived in the beautiful bay of *Ardmady*. Here I found the kindest welcome from my worthy friend, Captain Archibald Campbel, who with the utmost friendship, during the voyage charged himself with the care of my groom b) and my horses. Here I also took leave of Mr. Archibald Thompson.

Thus ended this voyage of amusement successful and satisfying in every part, unless where embittered with reflections on the sufferings of my fellow-creatures.

y) gesprengt.

z) Schubkarren.

a) zum Verkauf eingerichtet.

b) Reit-Knecht.

II.

Beschreibung

einer

Reise nach Ostindien
und China.

Nach Ch. F. Noble's voyage to the East-Indies.

Reise nach Ostindien

und China

von J. G. Lelewel



*Abfahrt von London und Gravesend. Ankunft in
die heisse Zone.*

On the 30th of July 1746. I fet out from London for Gravesend, where I was agreeably entertained to see a great number of people on board the vessel, in which I was appointed to go to the East Indies, and the vast preparations, and quantities of provisions on board to supply the necessities of so long a voyage.

On the 2d of August we weighed anchor; and as the wind was variable, we were obliged to come to an anchor every now and then. On the 9th of October, we found ourselves in lat: $37^{\circ} 32'$ N, and longit. 22. 16. For some days past we had been agreeably entertained with porpoises ^{c)} grampuses ^{d)}, albicores ^{e)}, and dolphins ^{f)}, playing about our vessel, and with great numbers of small birds of different kinds flying over our heads. We were now beginning to feel the hot climate, so that the allowance ^{ff)} of water, with

E 3

the

c) Meerschweine (porcus piscis.)

d) a grampus ein Nordcaper.

e) eine Art von grossen Macrelen (Scomber.)

f) Coryphaena Hippurus, der gefleckte Stutzkopf.

ff) angemessene Portion.

the greatest oeconomy, was little enough to quench g) thirst.

On passing the Tropic, and entering the Torrid-Zone, all the people on board, who had never gone this voyage, according to custom, treated their companions with punch, &c. and gave hopes of being all in a healthy state. On the 8th. we passed the Equinocial;

Being safely arrived at St. Helena, we saluted the fort with nine guns, which the fort returned. In the evening we warped h) the ship nearer the shore and were now all very glad of seeing land once more.

Beschreibung der Insel St. Helena.

Ihre Lage.

St. Helena, so named by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Helen's day, in 1502, lies in the latitude of 16° South, and 1° West latitude from the Lizard i), almost mid-way between the continent of Africa and South America.

Größe und Naturbeschaffenheit der Insel.

The island is about 21 miles in circumference, and consists of one vast rock, steep on every side, and very high, and, when seen at sea, has the appearance of a lofty castle in the middle of the Ocean, whose natural fortifications are so tremendous and high, that it

g) zu löschen.

h) to warp, ein Schiff, an einem vorwärts ausgeworfenen Anker, hineinwinden.

i) Ein Vorgebirge der Provinz Cornwall in England.

it would appear, there could be no scaling of them, nor, indeed, any possibility of finding a landing place.

Successive Besitznehmung der Insel von den Portugiesen, Holländern und Engländern.

On the Portuguese discovering this island they found it very barren, and without so much as a tree or bush to be seen on it; but as they thought it capable of improvement, and that it would be a convenient place for their shipping to water at, they stored it with hogs and goats^k); and visiting it afterwards, found the brood had increased.

In the course of some years, the Portuguese grew less fond of their possession, as they found it of a very barren soil full of rocks, and very difficult to ascend to the country, and so small and remote, that their ships had often great difficulty to find it. So they left it.

On their deserting the island, the English East India Company took possession in 1600, and held it till 1672, when the Dutch^l) took it from us by surprise. About two years after, Captain Richard Monday recovered it again. The Dutch had fortified the place now called *Chapel-Valley*, which was always esteemed the only, tho' a dangerous landing place.

Einwohner der Insel St. Helena.

On the whole island, I am informed, there are about 150 families, all of English extraction. There are commonly about 300

E 4

sol-

k) Mit Schweinen und Ziegen.

l) Holländer.

soldiers maintained here in the company's service. They are bound to remain five years; and, it being a healthful climate, look as clean and well as any troops in Europe.

All the people of the island speak English, dress after the English mode, and are generally of a tall slender shape, but somewhat tanned ^{m)}. They always speak of England as their home, and most of them that I have spoke with, expressed a strong inclination to see it. But the ties ⁿ⁾ of friendship, and the expence of the voyage, prevail with them to remain, even after resolving on the voyage: so that few of them have ever been in their parent country.

Notwithstanding the general poverty of the island, yet they live very happy. I was told that some planters here are so rich, as to give 2000l. dowry ^{o)} with a daughter. They live in perfect security, neither in danger of enemies nor robbers, wild beasts, nor rigorous seasons, and, for the most part, are in a continual state of health. Their walls are the highest rocks, and their moat ^{p)} the ocean. As they are here detached from all the rest of the world, dwelling in uninterrupted quiet; enjoying a serene sky; steady and moderate breezes, surrounded with herds of cattle, shady trees of various kinds, abundance of flying and swimming animals; these circumstances considered, this place would certainly be a fine retirement, and give large opportunity to a philosophic mind, in observing and contemplating the works of nature.

For

m) lohfarbig.

n) Bande.

o) Aussteuer.

p) oder-mote Graben.

For the greater security of the island, there are watch-towers placed on the greatest eminences all around the island; where the centinels give signals from one to another, on the approach of any shipping: and if there is any apprehension of danger, all the inhabitants are alarmed, and immediately take arms, under the command of the Company's Governor.

A school-master is settled here by the company, for teaching the inhabitants to read and write English, and common arithmetic. Their proficiency in either is inconsiderable, and their ideas and knowledge extremely confined. But I must do the female sex the justice to say, that they have a greater flow ^q) of spirit, and thirst after knowledge than the generality of the men. I became acquainted with a lady that was no less learned in the ancients, than in the history of modern times. There were few authors, even the most abstruse ^r), but she had studied. She lately favoured the world with an important discovery, „That the reason why Homer called one of his books the *Iliads*, or, which is the same thing, his eye-lids ^s), was because he was blind.„

Abreise von St. Helena. Beschreibung der St. Paulsinsel.

Having remained here twenty days, we were now ready to sail. On Wednesday the 14th of January we weighed anchor at seven, and, on our leaving the island, we saluted the fort with nine guns, which returned the

E 5

same

q) Zufluss, Reichthum.

r) dunkel, schwer.

s) Augenlieder.

same number. We were close followed by shoals ^{t)} of sharks ^{u)}, flying fish, and dolphins, which many of our seamen looked upon as an omen that our ships crew ^{x)} would be soon sickly.

On the fifteenth of March we got a sight of the island of St Paul's, from which the island of Amsterdam is not far distant. St. Paul's which lies mid-way between the Cape and New-Holland, seems larger than St. Helena, and has better ground upon it; at least is more verdant; yet it is said to be destitute of fresh water, and consequently of inhabitants.

INSEL IAVA.

Ankunft daselbst.

On the evening of the fifth of April, we were within two or three miles of the Iavan shore. The frequent calms we met with in the straits of Sunda, rendered our navigation very tedious, being obliged to come to anchor and weigh again every two or three hours.

On the tenth, we were within a league of the Iavan shore, and though much vexed with tacking ^{y)} and anchoring every now and then, we were agreeably entertained with the fine green prospect. Through our glasses we could see the clusters ^{z)} of various fruits hanging upon the trees, the country interspersed with groves and rivulets, and a varie-

t) von Zügen.

u) Hayfische.

x) Schiffvolk.

y) laviren.

z) Trauben, Büschel.

variety of curious birds flying about us, using their different notes or cries.

On the nineteenth we came to an anchor in Batavia road, having taken fourteen days to pass through the straits of Sunda.

Beschreibung der Insel Iava.

Ihre Lage und Grösse. — Von den Malayern, als den ursprünglichen Eingebornen dieser Insel.

Iava is one of the Sunda islands, and extends from $5^{\circ} 3'$ to 8° S. latitude, being in length about 700 miles, and, in some places, 150 in breadth.

The natives, the original masters of this island, are Malays, part of a numerous people in the East Indies so called. They are of a moderate stature, black, though not so deep as the natives of Guinea; they are well shaped, and their hair, as of all other Indians, of a shining black, and very long. They are generally found to be proud, treacherous ^{a)}, and much given to lying. The men go naked to the middle, which is covered with a piece of calico ^{b)}, or cotton, reaching to their knee. Both sexes have generally good features, and contrary to what we commonly observe of the Blacks among us in England, who are all brought from Guinea, they have no flat noses, thick lips, nor woolly heads, but have as great a variety of features as any people in the world. They marry very young, especially the females, who are ripe to have chil-

a) verrätherisch.

b) Kattun.

children at twelve years of age, and are generally past childbearing at the age of thirty.

The Iavan women are exceedingly amorous, and have a peculiar excellency which many of our European ladies cannot boast, namely, constancy to their lovers. But, indeed, they expect that the men should be no less faithful in their turn; for, if the female find any reason to suspect her gallant of infidelity, a potion, or some other such means, are found to put an end to all futur intercourse.

They have fine regular features, and a pleasing softness in their manners, with a most agreeable smile or laugh. So that, though they are tawny ^{c)}, they might pass even in Europe for handsome. They are all very cleanly ^{d)}, bathing every evening and morning, in obedience to Mahomet, whom they follow.

The men, by their law, are allowed two or three wives, and the married women, though they enjoy full liberty, pay a profound respect to their Husbands.

Klima der Insel Iava. Nasse und trockene Jahreszeit.

This island is exceeding hot, and, in some parts, very unwholesome, especially about the bays and shores, where the lands are level: for, after a flood, and the retiring of the waters, the whole surface is covered with ouze ^{e)} and mud ^{f)}; and the rays of the sun falling perpendicularly, raises a very thick vapour;

c) braungelb.

d) reinlich.

e) Sumpf.

f) Schlamm.

pour; besides, the intolerable stench ^{g)} of a multitude of frogs ^{h)} and insects that the waters leave behind, and which are soon killed by the heat of the sun, corrupts the air itself for some time. Further up the country, there are vast numbers of trees and herbs, that have not perhaps been touched by the hand of man since the deluge, which produce great vapours, and renders the air unhealthful. Near the towns the woods are mostly cut down, and consequently the air is somewhat better. Indeed, were it not for the sea-breezes, which never fail to come every twelve hours, there would be no living on this island at all; for when the sea-breeze ceases, and the land breeze succeeds, the place is more hot and stifling ⁱ⁾ than a glasshouse in Britain.

The evenings and mornings are pleasantest, though even then very warm; these two are the only hours of business or diversion, and, indeed, it may be said, they constitute the day, in this and all other places under the Torrid-Zone.

The people of this island divide the year into the wet and the dry seasons, instead of Summer and Winter as with us. The winds in this part of the world blow the one half of the year one way, and the other half another, with very little variation. When the winds change, they call it the breaking up of the Moonsons ^{k)}, at which time there are prodigious storms of wind and rain that we have no example of in Europe. The westerly moon-

g) Gestank.

h) Frösche.

i) zum ersticken heiß.

k) periodische Winde.

moonson continues from September to April, which is the wet season, having almost continual and heavy rains during that period.

Naturgaben und Produkte der Insel Iava.

This island is exceedingly fertile but uncultivated. Plenty of all sorts of Indian fruits grow here spontaneously; and no less plenty of buffaloes, cows, small horses, deer, hogs and all sorts of poultry, are to be found, without any other owner than he who takes them. The trading towns employ people to take them, and sell them out to any purchaser that comes.

Here we found monkeys ^{l)} of various species, parrots ^{m)}, and squirrels ⁿ⁾. About the rivers and marshes there are numbers of serpents, crocodiles, or alligators ^{o)}, some of them of a prodigious size. They lie commonly at the side of rivers, among bushes, where they watch their prey. They ly so close, that they appear, in colour and size, like a large trunk of a tree; so that a stranger is in great danger of becoming a prey to this voracious animal.

There are incredible numbers of curious and beautiful flies and insects, which, if the annual rain happens ever to fail, entirely destroy the fruits of the earth. The *musketoe* is a very small fly, stings smartly, makes a great buzzing ^{p)}, and is much of the nature of our gnats ^{q)} in England. When Europeans come first here, the *musketoes* are apt to be very

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------|
| l) Affen. | m) Papagayen. | n) Eichhörnchen. |
| o) Eine Art von Krokodilen. | | p) Gesumse. |
| q) Mücken. | | |

very troublesome to them; sometimes their faces and skin are so much swelled by the bites of these animals, that a man will find difficulty to know his intimate acquaintance; but, after we have continued some time here, the effect of their sting is not so great. All the time I was in Batavia, I could get no rest in my bed for them, though I kept my gauze curtains ^{r)} as close as possible. A person is very ready to scratch ^{s)} the part of the body which is stung; but it is extremely dangerous; for I have seen some of our people's legs and arms full of running holes, that I could have put my finger in, occasioned by their having imprudently scratched themselves after being bit. We all know that wounds and sores ^{t)}, in a hot climate, are very ready to putrify, and consequently are not easily cured.

*Handlungszweige unter den Produkten der Insel
Java. Sagobaum.*

The chief commodities of this, and indeed of all the Sunda islands, are sugar, arrack, pepper, rice and timber for building ships.

Besides the cocoatree, there is one no less useful here called by the Europeans the Sagoe - tree. This tree grows in the woods, is hard, but thin, and produces much white pith ^{u)}, like our alder ^{x)}. Of this pith they make the thing we call *sagoë*, which, when

^{r)} meine Gardinen von Gahse, einem lose gewebten Zeuge.

^{s)} Kratzen.

^{t)} Geschwüre.

^{u)} Mark, das Weisse im Stengel oder Stamm einer Pflanze oder eines Baums.

^{x)} Flieder, Hollunder.

when boiled in water, is very wholesome, pleasant, and nourishing, and you may boil it to what consistency you please. By adding a little wine and sugar, it is extremely delicious.

Malaysche Sprache.

The Malayan language is spoken by the natives of Iava in a variety of dialects, and is easily acquired, perhaps easier than any foreign living language in the world. I know several Englishmen, who, in six months residing among them, have been capable to transact any business with them, and to speak it tolerably well. It is soft and pleasant to the ear. As a specimen I shall insert here the Malayan numbers.

- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. Satoo | 10. Sa pulo |
| 2. Dua | 20. Dua pulo. |
| 3. Teiga | 30. Teiga pulo &c. |
| 4. Ampat | 100. Sa ratos. |
| 5. Lima | 1000. Sa ribo. |
| 6. Anan | 1111. Sa ribo Sa ratos |
| 7. Toogoo | Sa pulo Satoo. |
| 8. Delapan | |
| 9. Sambelan. | |

All merchants and others residing here, as well as in many other parts of the East Indies, speak either this or the Portuguese language; for without either one or the other, they could not carry on their commerce.

Stadt und ehemaliges Königreich Bantam.

The chief cities of Iava are Bantam and Batavia. The once famous Bantam is situate
at

at the west end of the island, and was formerly the flourishing metropolis of a great kingdom, and where the English and Dutch had factories till 1682; at which time our friends, the Dutch, fomented a war betwixt the old king and his son. The father would not come into their measures, and become their humble slave. But the son, like many of our European princes, more fond of a crown than wisdom, went into their measures. The Dutch, with the assistance of the rebels, set the son on the throne, but deprived him of his sovereignty, and made him their humble vassal.

Thus they reduced a large and populous city, and one of the largest ports in the eastern seas, twelve miles in circumference, to which all nations resorted, to a poor wretched place, where there is nothing to be seen but the ruins of what it once has been; and has neither trade, nor any thing else to render it desirable.

The Dutch still keep a garrison here of four or five hundred soldiers, to secure their factory, and keep the natives in subjection, who have a rooted enmity at the Dutch; for if a Dutchman goes but a very small distance from the fort, it is a great chance if ever he returns.

The only produce of this part of the island is pepper. It abounds so much with this useful spice, that I have heard the inhabitants, and the Dutch themselves, say that they could export from this part 10,000 tons *per annum*.

BATAVIA.

This city, which is entirely subject to the Dutch, and the metropolis of their settlements in the East Indies, lies about forty miles to the eastward of Bantam, in 60° S. latitude and 160° E. longitude from London. It is situate at the bottom of a fine bay, in which there are several small islands that break the violence of the waves, and in which one hundred sail may ride at anchor with safety. The city is almost square, and is built after the manner of the houses in Holland. The streets are wide and straight: in twelve of the principal ones are canals in the middle, with fine stone-bridges over; and on each side of the canals, five rows of evergreen trees are planted. This situation not only makes the place very pleasant, but renders the scorching y) heat less intolerable about noon.

On the west side of the city stands a strong fort, which commands both town and road. The governor's house, and the houses of the principal officers of the Dutch company, are within the fort; so that it is crowded with buildings. The suburbs, which, in some parts, reach half a league into the country, are as large as the city itself, and inhabited by Chinese, Portuguese and Malays. In these suburbs, where the people are most industrious, are the greatest number of shops and work-houses, for making arrack, sugar &c.

Gro-

y) to scorch *fengen*.

Großes Gewerbe in der Stapelstadt des Holländisch-Ostindischen Handels.

Batavia is the great magazine of the Dutch East India company, and, I believe, the richest place too. Hither are consigned the rich merchandizes of Japan and the spice islands, as well as those of Persia, Surat, Bengal, and the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, besides European commodities. They transport these Indian merchandizes into Europe, where they are converted into ready money.

About the months of November or December, about fifteen, sometimes twenty sail of *Jonks*, from one hundred to eight hundred tons burden, come hither from China, who furnish this place with the merchandizes of that country, at an easier rate, than they could have them by sending their ships thither. They commonly return to China in June.

General - Gouvernement zu Batavia.

In this city are people of all nations and all persuasions. To keep them under a regular government and prevent rebellions, requires a deal of judgment and prudence, as well as power, in executing, with strictness and severity, the established law. The governor has a body of 20,000 men under his command, 1000 of which are on duty day and night in and about the city. The governor, who knows how much the world is taken with appearances, takes to himself the title of Governor-General of the East Indies,

and keeps up the state and retinue ^{z)} of a king. When he goes abroad his coach and six is preceded by a troop of horse guards, a company of halberdeers surround it, and another of foot bring up the rear ^{a)}. His guards are all cloathed in yellow satin ^{b)}, trim'd ^{c)} with silver-lace, and make a more splendid show than the lifeguards of any European prince. The Indian princes pay him great homage, and attend his levee ^{d)}. Their continuing above the rank of slaves depends on his will and caprice. Sometimes thirty, and never less than twenty ships of war lie in the road waiting his orders: with these he not only insults all the Indian princes in this part of the world, but crowns and dethrones them at pleasure.

Lebensart, Sitten und Gebräuche der Europäer zu Batavia. Grausame Behandlung der Sklaven.

The continual chewing ^{e)} of the nut of the beetle tree is much in vogue here, even among the Europeans. Both sexes use this nut, and smoke opium, which, tho' it dyes ^{f)} their teeth black, prevents tooth-achs ^{g)} and scurvy ^{h)} in the gums, and makes their lips of a vermilion ⁱ⁾ colour. The common dress of the Dutch women is a white night-gown; but when they go to church, put on their European dress, with a female slave behind, carrying the beetle nut in a box. The gentlemen and ladies, when they go abroad at noon,

z) Gefolg.

a) Nachtrupp.

b) Atlas.

c) verbrämt.

d) Sind bei seinem Lever zugegen.

e) to chew kauen.

f) to dye färben.

g) Zahnschmerzen.

h) Scorbüt.

i) lebhaftte Röthe.

noon, are attended by their slaves carrying umbrella's, or kita- sol's, over their heads, to keep off the rays of the sun. Nay, there it not a common Dutch soldier but must have his black boy to carry his umbrella and wipe his shoes.

The people here called Portugueze, are rather blacker than the Malays, but wear the Portugueze habit. They are indeed the descendants of the Portugueze who first inhabited here, and, mixing with the Malay women, are now little different from the natives. They still profess Christianity. I have been in their church, and saw their black priests perform service. They are proud and quarrelsome k).

Men of business here seldom wear coats, but a waistcoat, except when they pay a visit: and, as soon as you enter a gentleman's house, a slave waits at the door to pull it off. Dinner here is commonly over about two o'clock, when water is brought by a slave round the table, to wash hands, face, and mouth. After smoaking a pipe, all retire to particular apartments, and lie on a couch to sleep till four or five. During the time of sleep, a slave or two stands by each, with a fan l), to cool, and keep off flies or insects from the face and hands.

The Dutch, from a politic view, keep a number of Malays in their pay, called thief-catchers, or informers, who are allowed to wear the Dutch livery, and to carry weapons. These fellows are ordered to patrolle all night, in order to seize such slaves as they shall find on the street. If they find any run-away

F 3

slaves,

k) zankfüchtig.

l) Fächer.

slaves, these are surrendered to their master next morning, who may punish them in what manner he pleases. If they find slaves that have no masters, they are immediately chained together in couples, like hounds, and sent to work in repairing the fortifications, canals, and public works. Old slaves, who have behaved well, are appointed over them as boatswains ^{m)} or masters, who, if the wretched slaves are either lazy or weak, lash ⁿ⁾ them at pleasure till the blood comes from all parts of the naked body. These fellows are inexorable to all the cries of pity, which would move a British heart. Nothing but death, which many of them long wish for, can deliver them from this detestable tyranny. They are not allowed food to keep soul and body together; yet I have seen five hundred of them, all fastened in couples with a chain round their legs, driving down large trees into the canals, all making one doleful sound. As little respect is paid to age as to sex; some of them very old, some very young; and great numbers of women of all ages. I have been sensibly affected to see young, well shaped, and beautiful girls, about fourteen or fifteen years of age, chained and used so barbarously. I thought slavery even at St. Helena an hardship; but it is nothing to this, which is sufficient to melt the heart of any body but a Dutchman.

Landgüter der reichen Holländer, um Batavia.

The ground far about ten or twelve miles round Batavia, is pretty well cultivated. The

^{m)} Schiffsofficiere, Bootsmänner.

ⁿ⁾ peitschen.

The gentlemen have their country-houses, gardens, and ponds ^{o)}, after the Dutch mode; and must always keep a numerous retinue of servants well-armed. The Dutch grandees ^{p)} have their pleasure-houses and gardens on the small islands in the bay, where they pass to and from one another in boats built for the purpose. These islands being shaded with groves, are very cool and pleasant.

Achem auf der Insel Sumatra. Von den dortigen Eingebornen.

During my stay at Batavia I visited some of the other islands of Sunda. In the N. W. end of Sumatra lies Acheen, the metropolis of a kingdom of that name.

Here are great dews, and the air is so chilly ^{q)} tho' near the Line, that I could afford to sleep in a close chamber on a bed, and covered with a thick quilt ^{r)}, which in another place, of a much higher latitude, would have been enough to have stifled me.

The natives are Malayans, who speak that language in perfection. They look on all Europeans with a jealous eye; I think with justice too, considering their neighbours have been such great sufferers by them. They will not allow the Dutch to trade in their port, but on extravagant terms, wherefore they are seldom visited by them. And tho' the English have a free trade, it is so precarious, as to be disputed on every alteration in the government.

F 4

The

o) Fischteiche.

q) frostig.

p) vornehme Herren.

r) gesteppte Decke.

The Malaysians are such admirers of opium, that they would mortgage ^{s)} all they hold most valuable to procure it. Those that use it to excess, are seldom long-lived, which themselves are very sensible of. I have been told by an Englishman, who accustomed himself to it, that it is a difficult matter to leave it after once experiencing the exquisite harmony, wherewith it affects every part of the body. On a larger quantity than ordinary, he found such a tickling ^{t)} in his blood, such a languishing delight in every thing he did, that it justly might be term'd a pleasure too great for human nature to support.

Bang has likewise its virtues attributed to it; for being used as tea, it inebriates, or exhilarates them according to the quantity they take. I have seen a great deal of it at Madras, brought from Bengal, which was like hemp ^{u)} in growth, leaves, seed, and every thing else.

Tobacco is much used among them; but they have little or none of their own raising, wherefore they are supplied with it from other parts at a dear rate. For want of pipes they smoke in *Bunco's*, as on the Coromandel coast. A *Bunco* is a little tobacco wrapt up ^{x)} in the leaf of a tree, about the bigness ^{y)} of one's little finger. They light one end, and draw the smoke through the other, till it is burnt quite up to their lips.

Ma-

s) verpfänden.

t) kitzeln.

u) Hanf.

x) eingewickelt.

y) Dicke.

Malacca

or *Malaya*, a Dutch settlement in the straits of that name, was taken from the Portuguese ^{z)}, who had done all that was necessary for its defence, by walling, moting ^{a)}, and otherwise strengthening the fort, that commands the town and road. The Portuguese were rather frightened than beaten out of it.

Malacca lies so convenient for commanding the straits, that the Portuguese exacted a certain toll for every Dutch ship that passed by it: but now the scales are turned ^{b)}.

Here are at least 200 European soldiers in garrison, which with other charges of the fort, is as much as the profits arising immediately from the country under this government can defray. However the Dutch think it a sufficient advantage to keep it as a bridle to the Malaysans, and a security for their trade among them.

The country abounds with timber ^{c)} and is fruitful in other respects; the air is wholesome, the heat moderate, and every thing else, as agreeable to European constitutions, as can be expected in a climate within 2° 30' off the Equator. Rains and squalls ^{d)} are less frequent than on the opposite shore in sight. The chilly winds of Acheen, nor hot ones of Coromandel, do ever disturb the people of Malacca.

F 5

The

z) 1641.

a) to mote mit einem Graben versehen.

b) Das Blatt hat sich gewendet.

c) Bauholz.

d) a squall ein plötzlicher Regenguss, oder auch ein Windstoß.

The inhabitants of the town are Dutch, Portugueze, Chinese, Moors, and two or three Armenians, whom, though honest fair traders, the Dutch care least of all for. The Chinese keep the best shops in the place, which are well filled with the manufactures and produce of their own country, and what else they can pick up, to get a penny by.

The Portugueze, as at other places in India, are a degenerate race of people, well stocked ^{e)} with cunning and deceit; instead of that courage and magnanimity, their own writings are so full of. There are three or four great merchants among the Moors; but the native Malayans live mean enough in the suburbs and skirts ^{f)} of the town. These differ but very little from the Achee'nes, are of the same religion, speak the same language, and are the same in every thing else, but haughty carriage, which their Lords, the Dutch, have sufficiently mortified. They are negligent in their affairs, and have a desperate fullness ^{g)} in their looks.

e) wohl versehen.

f) an den äussersten Enden.

g) Trotz.

CHINA.

Reise dahin von Batavia aus.

On the ninth of June we weighed anchor and steered our course directly from Batavia towards China.

On the 7th of July in the morning we saw the grand Ladrone island distant 7 or 8 leagues. Having now been about ten months from England, we were all very glad to see the utmost extent of our voyage. As we passed along the coast of China, I thought it the finest prospect I had ever seen. When I saw their lofty pagadoes or steeples ^{h)}, fortifications, houses and burrying-places, every thing green, and carrying the appearance of plenty, it confirmed the ideas I had formed of them when in Europe, from Chinese paintings.

Insel Macoa. Bewillkommungsceremonien eines Mandarinens bei der Ankunft unserer Reisenden.

This evening we came a-breast ⁱ⁾ of Macoa, a fortified town said to belong to the Portuguese, though indeed to the Chinese, as it is governed by a Chinese Mandarin and soldiers. I was told that this island was given in a present to the Portuguese for some services they had done for the Chinese.

On the 9th, we sailed up Canton river. The Governors of several small forts on the side of it came on board, and, on examination, gave us a chop or pass.

Every

^{h)} *Thurmspitzen.*

ⁱ⁾ *in der Nähe gegenüber.*

Every place was pleasant and agreeable; but we did not find the people so; for, unless we had kept a watchful eye over them, the Mandarin's soldiers and attendants were ready to steal every little thing they could come at. I found the Europeans had given names to all places hereabouts, quite different from those given by the natives. The wind having failed us, we anchored about a mile below the Bankfall Island at Wampo; here some of our officers and supercargoes ^{k)} left the ship, in order to proceed up the river to Canton. On the 10th we came to the place opposite Bankfall Island, where all the European ships usually lie.

On August 1. the Captain, supercargoes, the Interpreter and Company's Agent, came again on board, to attend the Mandarin, who was appointed by the *Chong-tou*, or Viceroy of the province, to measure our ship. He soon after arrived. We saluted him with nine guns. He brought a numerous retinue ^{l)} with him. There was a great deal of magnificence and grandeur in his *sampans*, or boats, but no less in his person and habit. He was attended by several inferior Mandarines, and these last had each their attendants. On his approaching our vessel, a band of music played all the time, and a small boat was sent some way before the rest, to fix a grand ladder to our ship, on each side of which ladder, a row of servants were placed from the top to the surface of the water, by which the Mandarin passed from his *sampan* up into the ship. On

k) Aufseher über die Ladung eines Schiffs.

l) Gefolg.

On entering the quarter-deck ^{m)} the Mandarine saluted the Captain with a great deal of Complaisance, and the inferior Mandarines, with bended knee, did the same. The Chinese Interpreter, and the Company's Agent, stood by to explain what passed, between the Mandarine and the Captain, or Supercargoes. The chief Mandarine was seated on a grand chair, which was brought on board, and placed on the quarter-deck for him, while the inferior Mandarines measured the ship, which took about an hour. At his departure there was a great deal of ceremony, in cringing ⁿ⁾, bowing, and firing cannon. He next visited several other ships, with the same parade and ceremony.

*Allgemeiner geographisch - statistischer Begriff,
1) von China.*

China is situate in the eastern part of Asia, bounded by Tartary, and India, Tonquin and the Indian sea between it and the Philippine Isles. The Chinese sea runs between it and Japan. It is divided into North and South China; the first containing seven provinces, the chief of which is *Peekin*, and is the Imperial city; and the latter containing nine provinces.

In these 16 provinces are reckoned 155 capital cities, 1312 of second rank, and 257 fortified towns; 10,128,789 families, and between 58 and 60 millions of people; and *Peekin*, the Imperial city, contains more than

m) *Verdeck.*

n) to cringe, *sich schmiegen und biegen.*

2 millions of these. It is said to be the largest city in the world, being 6 leagues in circumference.

2) *Von dem gegenwärtigen Chinesisch-Tatarischen Reiche. Nebst einer historischen Nachricht von dessen Entstehung.*

Formerly China was governed by kings of its own. As they bordered with the Tartars, these people made frequent incursions among them. To prevent which, the Chinese built a great wall, to separate China from Tatar, which is, indeed, the most remarkable in the world. It is built of brick and mortar ^{o)}, so well tempered, that it has already stood 1800 years, and yet little decayed. Its height is 30 feet, and broad enough at top for eight people to ride abreast. But about the year 1645, the Tartars taking advantage of some divisions which had arisen in China, invaded it with a powerful army, and after much bloodshed, at last conquered it. So that now both China and Tatar constitute one empire, subject to a Tartar prince, whose power is as despotic as can be imagined; his commands admit of no delay; the lives of his people, yea of the princes of the blood, are at his disposal, and he must never be spoke to but prostrate or on the knees.

The Tartars being much inferior to the Chinese in number, were obliged to use all the arts of policy as well as power, to keep them in subjection. One remarkable edict was, to oblige the Chinese to cut off their hair,

o) Mörtel.

hair, and to dress after the manner of the Tatars, that the inconsiderable number of these last might not so easily be discovered.

Tatary may be as well said to have submitted to China, as China to Tatary; for in China is the seat of Empire, and all the supreme courts of justice. There all the wealth of the united kingdoms is accumulated; there all the honours are conferred, and consequently thither is the resort of people of the highest rank and opulence. China is still governed by its ancient laws, and Vice-Roys are appointed in each province by the Emperor, whose residences are every where well fortified.

Von der Chinesischen Tatarei und ihren Bewohnern.

Tatary was once divided into a number of little kingdoms and principalities. The chief of each of these divisions still retain the title of king, though they are indeed no more than vassals of the Emperor of China. The western Tatars live in tents, have no settled residence, but move from place to place, for the conveniency of pasture. Herds of cattle, and what they get in hunting are their principal subsistence. — The eastern Tartars live in towns. These towns are neither so regular nor so numerous as those of China. Many of them are deserted for a warmer climate and more fertile soil, and now lie in ruins. For, on the conquest of China, the Emperor invited all his little Tatar clans ^{p)} to join him, and transplant their families to Peckin,

p) *Stämme, Geschlechter.*

Peckin, in order to establish his government, and secure his conquests; and since that time, all men of any spirit, who were not destitute of ambition, have resorted to the court of China, where they are sure of meeting with preferment ^{q)}: by which means their native country is abandoned, and left in a more wretched condition, than before their unfortunate union with China. They had indeed the honour of being conquerors, and of setting a prince of their own nation upon the throne of China, but are notwithstanding become a province of the kingdom they conquered. The manners and customs of the Chinese daily prevail among them, and their plan of government is very much adopted by the Emperors.

Parallele zwischen den echten Tataren und den Chinesern.

The Tatars who remain in their own country, and do not attend the court of Peckin, differ from the natives of China in many respects. They are neither so effeminate nor luxurious as their southern neighbours. They do not apply themselves to traffick; the Chinese cultivate commerce with eagerness. The Tatars delight in hunting and horsemanship, in which they spend the greatest part of their time; the Chinese have little taste for such robust exercises. The Tatars are ashamed to be seen in chairs, like the effeminate Chinese, and our soft Europeans. They allow the female sex every innocent liberty, and permit them to converse with
the

^{q)} *Beförderung.*

the other sex occasionally, agreeable to the custom of all the northern nations; the Chinese hardly suffer their women to be seen at all from their cradle ^{r)} to the grave. It perhaps may be found a pretty just observation, that the bravest people have ever been least possessed of a spirit of jealousy, and have always kept the fair sex under least restraint.

Tatary is full of barren deserts and uncultivated fields. Here and there they sow some wheat ^{s)} and other grains; but flesh, especially such as is taken in hunting, is their principal food. The Emperor of China, who is of Tatar extraction, is so fond of hunting, that he goes once a year into Tatary to enjoy that exercise. The Tatars furnish him annually some thousands of horses, not for service only, but for food; for the Chinese live on horse-flesh, and mare's milk ^{t)} at certain seasons of the year.

The Tatars are very ignorant of the arts and sciences, nor have they any regular system of laws. The will of the Prince, is the rule of their obedience. Nor have they any books or records among them, to give light into their origin; though many conjectures and traditional fictions have been published in Europe concerning them.

Gegenwärtiges politisches u. f. w. Verhältniß zwischen den beiden Hauptnationen in dem Chinesisch - Tatarischen Reiche.

At Canton I could see no difference in the men of both nations. They are of an equal bulk

r) Wiege. s) Weizen. t) Stutenmilch.
Neues Engl. Geogr. Leseb. 2. Th. G

bulk ^{u)} and stature, and so well alike in features, that, though I was some months among them, I could not distinguish one from another by his face. They wear the same habits; are under, and protected by the same laws, and agree in all things else, but a sprightly temper, which the Chinese have been remarkably defective in, ever since their left handed fortune subjected them to a yoke, they think the heavier, for the inconsiderable power the Tatars had before they got their wealthy empire to make them great.

A Tatar prince on the throne, men of that nation in most places of trust ^{x)}, and the law for their wearing their hair after the Tatar fashion, are the only marks they bear of servitude. They have liberty and property as well secured to them as ever, and what may be a great consolation, by their own laws, which the conquerors finding consonant to reason, and justice, beyond what they experienced in their own country, chose rather to submit to, than to new model a government few nations in the world could vie ^{y)} with for order and politeness.

How reasonable soever it may be, to make the best of a bad market ^{z)}, and not be miserable, because our predecessors were abundantly more happy: the Chinese are not
phi-

u) Masse, Grösse.

x) Solche Stellen und Aemter, deren Verwaltung nur vertrauten Männern überlassen werden kann.

y) to vie with some body es mit Iemanden aufnehmen, wetteifern.

z) von einem schlechten Handel den bestmöglichen Vortheil zu ziehen.

philosophers enough to swallow a doctrine so sour, without repining ^{a)} at the necessity.

Von China und den Chinesern insbesondere.

Klima der Nördlichen und Südlichen Provinzen.

China is divided, as we have mentioned already, in the North and South part. In the northern provinces the winters are usually very severe for four months, namely from November to March, where they have almost continual frost and snow. But in the southern provinces they never see one or the other, but enjoy a clear and serene sky all the year, excepting about the time of the vernal and autumnal equinox, when there are some violent storms, and sometimes a little chilly weather, which is indeed all the winter they have.

Naturschätze des Landes und Industrie der Einwohner.

In such an extensive empire, we need not wonder, that the soil, as well as the complexions of the people, are different. But generally the soil is rich, in most places producing two, and in some places, three crops in the year. Yet the people are so industrious and such lovers of agriculture, that there is scarce an inch of uncultivated ground to be seen.

Their chief grain is rice, which they use in bread; and besides a number of fruits to

G 2

be

a) to repine at something *sich worüber Kummer machen.*

be met with in Europe, they have several peculiar to themselves.

Horses, mules, camels, oxen, cows, buffaloes, hogs, deer, hare and sheep are in great plenty in China. The sheep are like those of Turkey; they have large tails of several pounds weight; and their fleece is rather hair than wool. Geese, ducks, hens, and all kinds of poultry and wild fowl, are in no less plenty and very cheap.

The Chinese ascribe the invention of the plough, and several instruments of agriculture, and the proper method of sowing wheat, rice, barley, and other grains, to some of their Emperors; and books have been written by their princes upon the subject of tillage ^{b)}, the nature of different soils, and the manner proper for each, which serve as directions to the husbandman at this day.

No country abounds more in herbs and roots; pease, beans, and other pulse ^{c)}, which are the chief diet of the poorer sort of people, are reaped in great quantities. Though our English gardens excel them greatly for fine walks and variety of flowers, which the Chinese neglect as unprofitable; yet they excell us in the number and plenty of those plants and roots that are really useful. Apples, pears, peaches ^{d)}, apricots, figs, grapes ^{e)}, walnuts, chefnuts ^{f)}, pomegranates, melons, oranges and olives, are in plenty, with many other European fruits.

They

b) *Ackerbau.*

d) *Pfirsichen.*

f) *Kastanien.*

c) *Hülfsenfrüchte.*

e) *Weintrauben.*

They have besides, great variety which do not grow in Europe.

Sugar-cane, ginger ^g), mulberry-trees, China-root ^h), rhubarb, cocoa-nut, and a sort of pepper, are all very plenty in China. The cane called Bamboo grows sometimes as large as an ordinary tree, and thrives best in marshy ground.

Thee.

Tea, or *Tcha*, is a plant peculiar to this country and to Japan. It is an evergreen, and commonly grows at the foot of mountains, and thrives best on a strong soil. Its root resembles that of a peachtree ⁱ), and its leaf that of a wild white rose. It generally grows about as high as a rosebush, though some are higher and very thick-branched.

The three sorts of tea brought to Europe are all from the same plant. The soil where it is planted, or the season of the year when it is gathered, is the true cause of that variety. *Bohea*, so called from some mountains in the province of Fokien where it grows, is the very first bud ^k) gathered in the beginning of March, and dried in the shade. *Hyson*, (Imperial or Bing-tea) is the second growth in April. *Singlo* or common Green-tea, is the last, which is gathered in May or June; both these are dried in little pans over the fire.

G 3

Fisch.

g) Ingber.

i) Pflirsichbaum.

h) Chinawurzel.

k) Knospen.

Fischreiche Flüsse und Landseen in China.

There is great abundance of various kinds of fish in all the lakes and rivers which are very numerous over the whole empire; and fowls both wild and tame are no less plentiful.

There are few places in China, but what enjoy the conveniency of a navigable river; so that wherever there is a town upon the land, there is another of boats upon the water. Through every province there is one grand canal, which serves as a high-road, and from these several smaller ones are cut, and branched out, that terminate at some town or village. There is a communication, by means of a grand canal, between Canton, the southermost part of China, and Pekin, the imperial city in the North, which is upwards of 1200 miles, and is only interrupted by a mountain in the province of *Kiang-si*, where they must travel a short day's journey by land.

Von den Einwohnern in China.

Große Volksmenge. Flusßbewohner.

The people in this country are so exceedingly numerous, that vast numbers of families are obliged to betake themselves to the rivers for want of room or the means of subsistence on the land, where almost every habitable spot is occupied. Accordingly there are upon the rivers an incredible number of small boats, in which poor families live all their life-long, begetting and bringing up chil-

children, without ever putting a foot on shore. In these they keep dogs, cats, hogs, geese, and other domestic animals, both for subsistence and sale ¹⁾. There is nothing similar to this in Europe.

Einige Züge des Nationalcharakters der Chineser.

Industrie und wissenschaftlicher Fleiß. Uebertriebener Nationaldünkel.

I believe there is no country in the world where there are fewer idlers ^{m)}, or where the people in general, are more industrious. It is surprizing to see what numberless occupations they betake themselves to, in order to get a livelihood ⁿ⁾, some of which are so mean and laborious, and to appearance so trifling that one can hardly conceive how it is possible for them to live by them. But all kind of provisions, especially rice and tea, their principal food, are so cheap, that they can easily subsist upon a very scanty income.

The knowledge of the Chinese people appeared very extraordinary to the Popish Missionaries, and it must be acknowledged they are very ingenious. The reason of their falling short ^{o)} of the Europeans in knowledge, does not proceed from their want of capacity, but from their situation, being separated so far from the rest of the learned world and conversing with none but people

G 4

much

1) Verkauf.

m) Müßiggänger.

n) um sich einen Unterhalt zu verschaffen.

o) daß sie den Europäern nicht beykommen.

much inferior to themselves. Considering then that they have had no advantage by travelling, or any foreign assistance, it is rather to be admired that they have made such advances in arts and sciences, than that they have gone no further. Their records are said to be very ancient, reaching back several thousand years. They possessed the art of painting, of making gun-powder, and understood the use of the mariner's compass, long before any of these inventions were known in Europe. They have, however, made but little proficiency in the arts, notwithstanding the conceit ^{p)} they entertain of their own superiority; for, when speaking of themselves, they tell you, that they have two eyes, the Europeans one, and the rest of the world none at all.

Unredlichkeit der Chineser in Handel und Wandel.

The Chinese excel the Europeans in nothing more than in the art of cheating ^{q)}. When they have any point to manage, in which their interest is concerned, no people know better how to insinuate themselves into the good opinion of those they mean to take an advantage of, or to improve an opportunity of doing it to the utmost. Nor will they decline the most hazardous undertaking when they have gain in their view. They are indeed very cunning, malicious and deceitful; all their revenge is managed secretly; and they can not only dissemble their malice, but seem patient even to insensibility, till they have a favourable opportunity to strike home

p) *Dünkel.*

q) to cheat *betrügen.*

me ^r). They apply themselves assiduously to discover the inclinations, humours, and tempers of those they deal with; and will keep up a fair appearance of friendship to their greatest enemy.

Though there are not wanting instances among them of fair dealers ^s), of open generous usage to strangers, and of fidelity not to be corrupted; yet the generality of them will make no scruple of imposing upon you, and are so far from being ashamed of it when detected, that they often laugh at those they have bubbled ^t). Indeed an European always runs a great risque of being cheated if he trusts to his own judgment; and if he employs a Chinese broker ^u), as is often done: the broker and merchant will sometimes combine to deceive him.

During my stay at Canton, I once bought a piece of stuff for waistcoats and breeches, without looking over the whole of it, imagining it was all alike, and sent it to my taylor, but was much surprized on his bringing them home, to find my waistcoats of different colours, and different substances.

A gentleman of my acquaintance went into a goldsmith's shop with an intention to buy a gold head for his cane; the goldsmith had none of the pattern ^x) he wanted, in that metal, though he had one of them in silver, but desired him to call in a day or two, and

G 5

he

^r) *ihren Streich anzuführen.*

^s) a fair dealer *ein ehrlicher Mann im Handel und Wandel.*

^t) to bubble *beschummeln.*

^u) *Mäkler, Unterhändler.*

^x) *Muster.*

he should have one. He called, received the head, paid for it, and had it put on his cane. The gentleman, however, since my arrival in England, informed me that his supposed gold head proves to be a silver one, and in all likelihood, the same he was shown in the shop, by which he had desired that the gold one might be made.

When I have been in the merchant-shops, I have frequently had my handkerchiefs, fans, and staves stolen from me, and when I presumed to demand them again, they would fall a laughing at me, without giving me any kind of satisfaction. To use violence, I perceived, was in vain, and would be only making a bad affair worse.

Every person in dealing with the Chinese should thoroughly inspect their goods, and should be particularly careful of their weights and measures. It is, indeed, so difficult to know all their tricks ^{y)}, that you cannot be thoroughly safe, unless you weigh every thing after them in English scales. Those also, who have confided in their package, have been no less deceived, than those who have trusted to their weights. They have found chests, boxes, tubs ^{z)}, and canisters so exactly imitated and marked, with damaged goods or things of little value, and put in the place of fresh goods, that our people made no doubt that all was right, till they found out the deception upon their unpacking them in England.

Kör.

y) Kniffe.

z) Butten, Fässer.

Körperliche Eigenschaften der Chineser.

The generality of the Chinese are not tall, but well set ^{a)}, and have broad faces, short noses, little dark eyes, thin beards, and all of them black hair. They allow their beards to grow long on the upper lip and bottom of the chin. They pull off the hair from their cheeks with tweezers ^{b)}, and, till they arrive at thirty years of age, seldom any beard appears. Those of the men who are esteemed learned, allow the nails of their fingers, especially those of the left hand, to grow near as long as their fingers, to distinguish them from mechanics.

Nationaltracht. Beharrlichkeit der Chineser bei derselben.

No hats are used by the men, but a small cap of a pyramidal form, which does not reach their ears. In summer they always carry a fan to cool and screen ^{c)} them from the heat of the sun. Their heads are all shaved ^{d)}, except a lock on the upper and back part, which the better sort wear rolled up. The poorer seldom wear any cap, and have their lock hanging down their back.

Their vest folds over the breast, and is so long, that it reaches the ground. Above the vest they wear a loose gown, which is shorter than the vest, and those worn by the Tatar soldiers do not come farther than their knees.

The

a) von ansehnlichem Wuchs und wohl bei Leibe.

b) Kneipzangen.

c) schirmen (arcere).

d) geschoren.

The Chinese of both sexes had retained the same uniform dress for above 2000 years, till the Tatars, as we before observed, ordered the men to cut off their hair. Yet they cannot be reconciled to perukes nor to breeches and stockings; for the European custom of shewing so much leg and thigh ^{e)}, is very odd to them. The whole dress of either sex is very light, especially that of the women, which will not weigh above five pounds at the most.

When they go abroad in Winter, they keep their fingers warm with live quails ^{f)} instead of muffs. These are bold birds of a hot nature, and being shifted in their hands, as there is occasion, answer the end well enough.

Lebensart der Chineser im Essen und Trinken.

The simplicity of their dress is not near so great as that of their diet: nor are they in the least superstitious in this point; for they not only use the same kinds of flesh, fish and fowl that we do, but even horse-flesh is esteemed proper food. Nor do they reckon dogs, cats, snakes, frogs, or indeed any kind of vermin, unwholesome diet. But their common food is rice, roots and garden-stuff ^{g)}, and pretty often broths ^{h)} and soups.

Their meat is boiled or broiled ⁱ⁾; and instead of bringing a large joint ^{k)} to table, as the Europeans do, they have it all cut into square

e) Schenkel.

f) Wachtele.

g) Gartengewächs.

h) Brühen.

i) to broil auf dem Rost braten.

k) ein größser Stück.

square bits before it is presented; nor do they use any table-cloth, napkins ^{l)}, spoons ^{m)}, knives and forks; instead of which, they use two little short sticks of ebony tipped ⁿ⁾ with silver, with which they lift their meat very dexterously.

They, contrary to the custom of all the other eastern nations, have their tables and chairs very high; and, at an entertainment, each person has a square table to himself, on which meat and rice are served in plate or china cups and saucers.

The better sort feed very luxuriously; they eat their meat cold, but their liquor hot. Tea is their principal liquor, which they always drink without sugar. In the morning a large tin ^{o)} vessel is made full of it, to serve the family for that day. This tin vessel is covered very close, and put into another vessel of wood, which keeps the tea warm all day, and is drawn off into cups by a screw-cock ^{p)}.

The water in China is seldom drank cold; and indeed it is not very safe, till herbs are infused into it, or till it is boiled or mixed with spirits; for their water is seldom pure.

They have no wine, though they have plenty of grapes; nor do they brew any liquor from barley ^{q)}: yet they have several strong liquors, which they make from rice or wheat, of which the most common are *Hockshue* and *Shamshue*.

Steifes und taktmässiges Ceremoniel der Chineser.

There is a peculiar ceremony in the Chinese entertainments. All the guests at table sit

l) Servietten.

m) Löffeln.

n) beschlagen.

o) von verzinnem Blech.

p) Zapfhahn.

q) Gerste

fit silent. When they drink, upon a signal given by the master of the house, they all lift their cups together, put them to their mouths at once, and set down the cups in the same manner. Next they lift their feeding-sticks at once, and take up a bit of meat; and so on, till all have dined. And if any person does not chuse to eat and drink the same quantity with the rest, yet he must make the motion.

As the cups are little, they will drink twenty times at a meal. The desert consists of choice fruits and sweetmeats ^{r)}. These, after having taken a turn in the garden, they use with their tea. After all is over, a long bamboo reed ^{s)} or pipe is brought to the master, who fills it with tobacco, and presents it to the oldest in the company, or to him to whom he means to shew the greatest respect; who, after a great many refusals and compliments, is prevailed to accept of it first.

Upon the whole ceremony is an essential part of the Chinese constitution. Tradesmen, husbandmen, and even servants, have their respective forms of ceremony appointed them, which, it is believed, contributes towards civilizing them. The form of salutation is, by bowing the head a little, and laying the right hand on the breast. This salutation they call *chin - chin*.

When they would shew very great respect, they join both hands together, and bow their whole body. When the master of a house salutes one of greater quality than him-

r) Zuckerwerk.

s) Bambus-Rohr.

himself, he does it, by falling on one knee, where he remains, till the person saluted take him up, which is done instantly.

They never uncover the head in salutations; and it is looked upon as an affront to salute a magistrate in public, unless the person has particular business with him. When a Mandarin or magistrate passes, the common people stand with their arms across, and their eyes fixed on the ground.

Ambassadors to the court of China are allowed a master of the ceremonies, to instruct them fourty days before they are admitted to an audience. Even the common people are greatly offended if they see strangers omitting to cringe and fawn according to the prescribed rules.

Von dem Chinesischen Frauenzimmer.

The Chinese women are as fair as any of their sex in Europe; and, except that they have generally very little eyes and short noses, may vie with them in beauty. Their foreheads are large, their eyebrows small and well arched, their eyes black, but almost hid with the lids, their mouth little, their cheeks and chins of a fine symmetry, their neck small, their arms long and slender ^{t)}, and a pretty little hand.

The nails of the ladies fingers are kept very clean; they allow them to grow more than two inches in length, to shew that they are not employed in servile work. But what is most remarkable, is their little feet, in which their chief beauty is thought to lie.

t) *schlank.*

As soon as a girl arrives at three years of age, her feet are bound up so hard that they cannot grow, which, indeed, makes their grown women, whose feet are not larger than those of a child of four years old, walk so awkwardly. From this restraint of nature, their ankles ^{u)} are very clumsy ^{x)}; yet so proud are they of their little feet, that they fondly ^{y)} show them when they have the least opportunity, as it is here the greatest mark of female beauty.

Eingezogenheit und menschenscheue Lebensart des schönen Geschlechts in China.

I have often been moved with pity at the strict confinement of the Chinese ladies. But as they see none of their sex in a better situation, they bear their slavery without murmuring having many amusements and employments that help to fill up their time. Some parents when they apprehend that they shall not be in a condition to maintain their male-children, will castrate them, in order to provide for them as eunuchs in the Emperors seraglio. They are called *Gelubden*; and no other are permitted to come near the women's apartment, or to attend in the innermost courts of the palace. Yea, so sacred are the women's apartments in general, that the husband's father is not permitted to enter them. And if the father would punish his son for any offence, which, by the law of China, he may do even after marriage, if the

u) Knöchel.

x) unförmlich.

y) mit Wohlgefallen.

the son escapes into his wife's apartment, he is as safe as in a sanctuary.

The common women, who are mostly of Tatar breed, have much the advantage of the fine ladies. They are at full liberty to roam about their small cottages and boats without restraint, while those in higher life dare not see a man's face in their whole life but that of their husband's, and are rendered incapable of walking by the smallness of their feet. When old, however, they are allowed to sit at their doors, and I have seen them often employed there in sowing ²⁾ or embroidering. But, if any younger ones were accidentally standing behind them, they never failed to run out of sight ere I could get a glance ^{a)} of them.

As it is natural for Europeans to slip no opportunity of seeing the fair sex; and as the women there are kept so very private, that many of us have made several voyages thither, without having seen a woman above the lowest rank; we were, during our stay at Canton, induced, on proper occasions, to pry ^{b)} into the most retired and unfrequented places, where we imagined the females might be less upon their guard, as few Europeans went thereabouts, to disturb them. In these rambles ^{c)} our curiosity was seldom entirely disappointed. Sometimes we would pop ^{d)} upon a parcel of young boys and girls, attended by their nurses; who were all so af-
frigh-

²⁾ to sow 'nähen.

^{a)} verholner Blick.

^{b)} mit den Augen spioniren.

^{c)} Auswanderungen.

^{d)} to pop in zuplatzen.

frighted at the sight of a *Fanquy* ^{e)}), as they called us, that they would scream ^{f)} aloud, run into their houses, and, by the noise, alarm the whole street.

Sometimes, indeed, we met them at a considerable distance from their houses; and as their feet are so little, that they cannot walk or run, but rather trip or hobble ^{g)} along, and are often obliged to assist themselves by laying hold of the wall as they move along, this gave us an opportunity to gaze upon them attentively on these occasions. They seemed so affrighted, and walked so awkwardly ^{h)}), that I was fain to retire, lest I should have made them stumble and fall, for which I should certainly have been bambood, a punishment which I shall describe hereafter.

Geringsschätzung der Chineser gegen das weibliche Geschlecht.

The female sex are excluded from having any share in the civil government and councils. The Chinese, by way of derision style Europe, *The Ladies Empire*, from the information that women are sometimes invested with sovereign power in that quarter of the world.

Next to a woman's being barren ⁱ⁾), the greatest scandal is to bear females, and if it happens that a woman brings forth three or four daughters successively without a son, she will expose or strangle them.

Des-

e) Franke. (Das r können die Chineser nicht aussprechen).

f) kreischen. g) trippeln oder hinken.

h) plump, ungeschickt. i) unfruchtbar.

Despotische Rechte der Eltern über ihre Kinder.

If the parents happen to be poor or unfortunate, they look upon the murder of their children to be an act of piety, because they think that they deprive them of a being which they would not be able to support with any degree of comfort. This is the reason so many children are daily exposed in the streets and highways of China, whose parents had so much tenderness remaining, that, notwithstanding the sanction of a prevailing custom, they might not see them die, or butcher them with their own hands.

Obedience and submission to parents is so strictly enjoined by the Chinese law, that, if a child should presume to insult his parent, or lay violent hands upon him, (for which no more proof is required but the father's testimony) the criminal is sentenced to be cut peace-meal ^{k)}, and burnt: not only his own house, but the houses adjacent, are destroyed, to remain as monuments of the detested crime.

Ehestiftungen nach Chinesischer Sitte. Vielweiberei.

If mutual consent constitutes marriage, there is no such thing in China: the parties never see one another till the bargain ^{l)} is concluded, which is done either by the parents, or by guardians, or old matrons; and these matches ^{m)} are commonly made when the parties are mere children.

H 2

Be-

k) in Stücken gehauen zu werden.

l) der Handel.

m) Partien, Ehestiftungen.

Besides that, marriage is so honourable and of so much esteem among the Chinese, that most men marry by the time they are twenty years of age; an old batchelor ⁿ⁾ being looked upon with the greatest contempt. As there is scarcely therefore an unmarried man to be found in China; and as the women are exceedingly prolific, it is no great wonder that this empire is much more populous than any other country in the known world; more especially as few of them travel to other parts, and are seldom taken off by war or pestilence.

The girls are part of the father's riches, as the poorest man must purchase his wife, no fortune being ever given with one. And as wives are only obtained by purchase, men in low circumstances are obliged to content themselves with one a piece; and in this respect the poorer women of China have much the advantage of the richer. What would not a Chinese lady give to exchange her life with a cottager ^{o)}, so as to have a man to herself? For the men of fortune in China do not content themselves with one or two wives, nor even with twenty, but, if their circumstances permit, will have a numerous train of them in seraglio's or women-houses, where the wretched creatures are almost perpetually confined, and scarcely allowed to breath the fresh air. They must not, after entering their tyrant's door, either see or be seen by any other man but himself.

Hoch.

n) ein alter Junggeselle.

o) eine Hüttenbewohnerin.

Hochzeitsgebräuche.

There are feasting and rejoicing when the man takes home his bride, particularly a splendid cavalcade from the wife's father's house, to the bridegroom's house, attended with drums p), trumpets, and colours flying q). But the bride is shut up in a close chair, from the sight of the procession, and is never more to be profaned by the eyes of the multitude, or even of her own nearest male-relations.

When the bride arrives, the bridegroom stands at the gate or door of his house, richly dressed, to receive her, and he immediately unlocks the door of the chair with his own hand. At this first interview, both one and the other are often confounded at their disappointment, in finding themselves much deceived in the representations made by their agents. Yet there is no redress for the woman; she must submit, let her aversion be ever so great, if the man is willing to accept of her; but the intended husband, if he finds the woman not so agreeable as he expected will return the bride that moment to her parents, and contentedly r) lose the purchase-money, rather than be troubled with one he apprehends might turn out a domestic plague; but if he once receives her, he is not allowed to divorce her, unless for adultery, impotency, leprosy or the like.

Gebräuche der Chineser bei Sterbefällen.

All the people of fashion in China, cause their coffins s) to be provided in their lifetime,

p) Trommeln.

H 3

q) und mit fliegenden Fahnen.

r) mit Vergnügen.

s) Särger.

time, and those of the higher rank cause their tombs to be built; and each family has a peculiar burying-place, to which the deceased of that family, though dying at a great distance, must be brought. The burying-places of the common people are without the city; they are generally buried promiscuously. By their law, the corpse of a person who had died in the country must not be brought within the walls of the city, nor is any burying-place allowed within the walls.

The corpse is sometimes kept four months, and all the sons of the deceased sleep about his coffin on matts or plaids ^{t)}. They taste neither flesh nor strong drink, nor come near their wives, all this time. Yea, so superstitious are they in performing the funeral rites, that their law prohibits the sons of the deceased to be at any entertainment, or to be concerned in any business for the space of three years after the father's death; and, though a man were possessed of the highest post in the government, he is obliged to leave it on such occasion for three years, and to retire to his own house, where it is esteemed an indecency to indulge himself in any pleasure, or even to be seen to laugh. The soldiers and Mandarines of the military order, are the only persons exempted from this lengthened mourning for a father.

Mountains and solitary places far from towns, are chosen for the seat of the tombs and sepulchres of the great, some of which are very magnificent. If a tomb is erected in a valley or plain, a vast heap of earth is accumulated.

t) *Decken*.

cumulated over it, to the height of a mount. The tomb is an arched vault in which an altar is erected, lights are placed, and the friends and relations prostrate themselves before it, with their faces to the ground. On this altar they pour out wine, offer meats, and burn incense, with the pictures of men and animals on gilded paper, which they imagine are converted into the things they are made to represent, and that they will be of service to the dead in another state. And if the deceased has held any considerable office, his virtues and illustrious actions, real or imaginary are engraved on marble, and set up in the vault, before the altar.

The Chinese have such veneration for the burial-places u) of their fathers, that neither curiosity nor the love of gain can allure them to travel into remote parts of the world. They even despise their own countrymen, who, from necessity, or on account of trade, go to *Sunda*, or other islands, to reside; because there they imagine they must leave their bones in unhallowed x) ground. It is little wonder therefore, that the Chinese are so seldom to be met with in very distant nations,

u) Begräbnisörter.

x) unheilig.

Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der
Wissenschaften und der Industrie
in
C H I N A.

Von dem Chinesischen Kaiser.

The Emperor of China styles himself, *The holy son of Heaven, sole Governor of the Earth, Great Father to his people &c.* So fond are they of the last of these epithets, that when any of the subjects would make a panegyric of their prince, the affection he has for his people is made the grand topic y), and much more considered than his despotic power, learning or policy; and this is always most acceptable to the Emperor himself.

The government of China, we are told, has continued monarchical for upwards of 4000 years; and that the reigning Emperor has a power to alter the succession, and to confer the imperial dignity on any of his subjects, though no relation of the royal family. But then his act must be ratified by the great council of *Calaos*, which is made up of princes of the blood, and ministers of state. The people hold the concurrence of this council so indispensably necessary, and of such weight, that the Emperor, absolute as he is, seldom attempts to enact a new law, or to repeal one in force, especially in religious matters, without

y) topic der Gegenstand, bei welchem in einer Rede vorzüglich verweilt wird.

without its assent. Nay, though he is possessed of the richest treasury, and has the most numerous army of any prince on the face of the earth; yet he will not apply the former, nor give orders to the latter, in a case of importance, without having his resolutions ratified before the proper courts which can put them into execution.

Haupt- und Residenzstadt Pecking. Hofceremoniel.

Peckin, the residence of the Emperor, is divided into two cities, the Tatar City and the Chinese city. The Emperor's palace stands in the middle of the Tatar city, is of an oblong figure, and two miles in length, one in breadth, and defended by a good wall. The palace includes not only the Emperor's house and gardens, but the apartments of the officers of state, and of a great number of artificers, who are constantly employed in repairing and keeping all his works in order. None are permitted to sleep in the innermost palace but eunuchs.

Eysbrand Ides, Ambassador from the Czar of Muscovy, acquaints us ²⁾, that when he had his audience of the Emperor of China, he was conducted to him by three Mandarines in their robes; that he had 50 horses for him and his retinue; that having alighted at the gate of the outward palace, he passed through five courts, where he saw great numbers of Mandarines standing in their embroidered robes: that the Emperor being seated upon his

H 5

throne

²⁾ In seiner bekannten Reisebeschreibung.

throne, he delivered his credentials ^{a)} from the Czar his master, and, after a short speech was reconducted to his apartment in the same manner: that he was afterwards invited to an entertainment at court, when the Emperor came in with a guard of 12 halberdeers, richly dressed, and music playing; that, when he had mounted his throne, the guards sat down cross-legged beneath him, and the music ceased; that the Vice-Roy, the Emperor's uncle, and other ministers of state, stood on each side of the Emperor; and that he, the Ambassador, was placed on the right side of the throne about four fathom ^{b)} distance. That the Vice-Roy having received the Emperor's commands upon his knees, brought the Ambassador two fathoms nearer; and the Emperor having inquired after his Czarish Majesty's health, he ordered a table that was furnished with cold meat and fruits to be uncovered; upon which the Ambassador, having a table provided for himself, was desired to eat. About 200 Lords of the court, who sat down on a carpet ^{c)} cross-legged ^{d)}, had a table furnished between each two of them. The Emperor sent a goose, and several other dishes, from his own table to the Ambassador, and a gold cup with spirits. The Jesui Missionaries, who had colleges there, were called in, and, kneeling before the throne were ordered to ask the Ambassador question about the length of his journey, and the kingdoms of Europe, who interpreted his answers to the Emperor.

The

a) Beglaubigungsschreiben.

b) Klafter.

c) Teppich.

d) mit kreuzweis gelegten Füßn.

The Ambassador having sat a quarter of an hour, was ordered to stand up, then the Emperor having saluted him, he retired. The Mandarines afterwards entertained him with a play.

When he had his audience of leave ^{e)}, and the Emperor was seated on his throne, a herald called aloud to the Lords of the court to stand up, and bow to the earth; which they did three times; and at the same time the drums beat, the bells rung, and the music played. The Ambassador being brought within three fathoms of the throne, was placed between two Tatar princes, while he made his compliments to the Emperor. As he returned he was conducted from the palace to his apartment in one of the Emperor's chariots drawn by an elephant; twenty of which animals, which he had received in presents from foreign princes, being kept in stables near the palace.

Oeffentliche Erscheinung des Kaisers. Dessen monarchische Rechte und Pflichten.

Though the Chinese race of Emperors never appeared in public; yet the present Tatar prince shews himself to the people four times a month. When he visits the provinces of China, he rides post, attended only by a few officers of state; and guards are placed along the roads he is to pass through for security of his person.

No business of importance is transacted in this vast empire, without the Monarch's knowledge. Every sentence of the courts of justice, especially in capital cases, is either

rati-

c) Abschiedsaudienz.

ratified or reversed according to his pleasure; and when he retires into the private apartments of his palace, where his only attendants are women and eunuchs, he is chiefly employed in the affairs of state, and more at liberty to consider the grievances of any of his subjects; for any private person may throw in a petition to the Sovereign, which he is bound, by the constitution of China, to consider and determine. The Mandarines likewise can petition him when he does not act agreeably to the constitution.

Mandarinen.

There are different orders of Mandarines; and each has his particular badge ^{f)} of distinction. Those of the civil order have the figure of a dove, or some harmless animal embroidered on the back and forepart of their robes; those of the military a lion, tyger, or dragon; which makes a splendid appearance.

At the admission of a Mandarin of war, he must shew his warlike skill and dexterity before the other Mandarines, by trial ^{g)}. Bodily strength in the exercise of the bow, sword, and quarter-staff ^{h)}, is an absolutely necessary qualification. He must draw a certain bow, wield ⁱ⁾ a heavy sword, lift a weight of seven or eight hundred *catties*, (a *cattie* is 20 ounces English) and to crown all, he must shew his good stomach, by eating up a number of basons ^{k)} of rice. These

f) Ehrenzeichen.

g) Prüfung.

h) Stock womit man sichts, und der vorzüglich vorzeiten zur Vertheidigung der Schiffe gebraucht ward: weswegen er auch eine eiserne Spitze hat.

i) schwingen.

k) Becken, Schüsseln.

se accomplishments are of great moment to recommend him to favour.

Kriegsmacht.

The military force of the empire is great: some have ventured to affirm, however improbable it may appear to Europeans, no less than five millions of soldiers are kept in pay in time of peace, most of them cavalry; and that there are 160,000 horse quartered in Peekin, armed wit scymetars^{l)} and launces^{m)} only. The cavalry never use fire-arms, and the infantry very few; their wapons being swords and bows.

The principal reason for keeping up such a great force is only to keep the country quiet; for, now that China and Tatarie are united, they have no foreign enemy to fear. How superior soever their number, yet from their want of fire-arms and discipline, they could not stand the charge of our regular European troops. They have, indeed, a tolerable train of artillery, which the Iesuite Missionaries assisted them in casting.

The soldiers are generally married, and have as much rice and other provisions allowed each, as to subsist their families. Those employed in the military government are mostly Tatars; those in the civil are Chinese; which, it is believed, are best adapted to their several geniuses.

Von der Justizverfassung in China.

Though the laws of China are good, yet, like those of some European nations, they are

l) mit Säbeln.

m) Lanzen.

are ill executed. Bribery ⁿ⁾ and corruption reigns in the courts of justice; the ministers of state at Peekin extort great sums from the Vice-Roys of provinces; and these again squeeze ^{o)} the Mandarines under them; which last, by consequence fleece ^{p)} the inferior officers. And though the law prohibits such pernicious practices, and the Emperor punishes the delinquents very severely when discovered; yet they are so much connived at among the parties, that a detection seldom happens.

There are no barristers ^{q)} or lawyers ^{q)} in China: every man has liberty to manage his own cause; and if he thinks himself aggrieved ^{r)} by an inferior, he may appeal to a superior court.

The punishment of children, guilty of having insulted their parents, has been mentioned already. Treason or rebellion are likewise punished with the severest torments. If a person of quality commits murder, he is strangled, and one of the lower rank is beheaded. Theft and adultery is never punished with death; for these crimes they inflict the *bastinado*, which is performed thus: the criminal is laid prostrate to the ground; and the executioner with a large cudgel ^{s)} gives a number of blows on the buttocks ^{t)} proportionable to the offence; nor is this punishment thought scandalous, as the Mandarines sometimes undergo it themselves. If the crime is not judged so great as to de-

serve

n) Bestechung.

o) pressen, ausfaugen.

p) scheeren.

q) Advokaten.

r) gravirt, beeinträchtigt.

s) Prügel.

t) Hinterbacken.

serve the bastinado, a thick board ^{u)} is hung about the neck of the criminal, and the crime written on it; in which posture he is exposed a certain number of days to public view. The offender, after he is punished is obliged to fall upon his knees, before the magistrate, and thank him for his seasonable correction; though, indeed, one blow of the bastinado might lame him, if the executioner were not bribed.

The Chinese are so cautious to preserve the lives of the subjects, that they do not execute the most enormous criminal, till the sentence is ratified by the Emperor himself, which occasions great delay in the execution of the law. In Nankin and Peekin, the prisoners are always crowded; and the lives of the prisoners are rendered so miserable, by the extreme want and torture they must suffer, before their sentence arrives from court, that most of them wish for death before it comes. I have been told that 30,000 are sometimes executed in a month, at the clearing of their prisons, which is done once in three years; and about half that number reprieved ^{x)}.

Nachricht der Chinesischen Kriminaljustiz gegen das scheuslichste aller Laster.

The detestable crime of sodomy and bestiality prevail at Canton and all the southern provinces of China, where, some say, it is either tolerated by law, or connived at by custom. I have known several merchants and people of fashion keep little boys about them, with whom, my Chinese friends told me, they com-

^{u)} Brett.

^{x)} pardonirt.

committed that execrable crime. These boys are called *Pancheuts*, and the Chinese who keep them, are fonder of them than of women. Their women too, who are by this means deprived of their husbands embraces, betake themselves also to unnatural practices.

Religionsverfassung.

Von den verschiedenen Religionen in China überhaupt.

The established religion of China is idolatry; but of all the idolaters on the face of the earth, they have fallen into the fewest absurdities. They worship one Supreme God, or rather an *Æternal Mind*, which they imagine animates both heaven and earth. Though they worship the first inventors of arts, some select mountains and rivers; yet they pay no adoration to vice and the other impure deities, which the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans worshipped.

The religion of the Tatars is likewise mere Paganism. The Emperor being a Tatar, follows it. Nor does it differ from that of the Chinese, except that they worship a living man, instead of a dead one. They call him *Dalai Lama* or the *Eternal Father*; they hold him in such veneration, and his authority is of such weight, that no king is crowned, till he has made rich presents to this pretended deity, and implored his blessing. He is shewn to the people in an obscure apartment

ment of his palace illuminated' with lamps. He sits cross-legged on a cushion raised above the ground, and dressed in their richest robes; all that approach him fall prostrate on the ground, and are allowed the honour to kiss his feet. His priests, that he may be thought immortal, when he dies, chuse one of their number, as like him, in features, age and size, as possible, to succeed in the godship. By this fraud, his votaries y) do not doubt of his living for ever. His residence is in *Barantola*, where he has a splendid court, and though he does not interfere z) with secular affairs, he may be properly enough stiled the Pope of Tatar.

Since the empire of China has been governed by the Tatar race, the priests of this great *Lama*, who, from their deity, are called *Lamas*, serve as chaplains to the Tatar nobility who reside at Peekin. The Emperor, for reasons of state, shews equal respect to the *Lamas* of Tatar, and the *Bonzes* of China, though, as the Jesuites insinuate, he is no slave to their religion, sees through the folly of it, and laughs in private at their extravagant legends.

There are, besides, some thousands of Mahomedan families in China, that religion having been tolerated there near 600 years, and cultivated with great favour by its votaries.

As to the Christian religion, some of the Popish missionaries assert, that it has spread so much in China by the favour of the late Em-

y) seine Verehrer.

z) sich mischen.

Emperor, that they have no less than two hundred chapels, which are well filled with converts; and that they have converted near 50,000, besides the children who are exposed by their parents in the streets, to whom they administer baptism, before they expire. It is certain that these Christians are of the poorer sort, and consequently have but a small influence upon the bulk ^{a)} of the nation. The richer sort are offended at the most important doctrines of Christianity. They abhor the doctrine of a Trinity, and the Incarnation; and the magistrates and richer merchants are so given up to cheating and extortion, by which they acquire their wealth, that they cannot hear of making restitution. The parting with their wives is a formidable objection against embracing Christianity; and, indeed, to preach to the women, that it is their duty to live with one man as their lawful husband, (when they know that their husbands have an absolute power to sell or transfer them from one to another, as often as they shall incline) seems to little purpose.

I have seen multitudes of Armenians at Canton; and I am much mistaken if there was not many Jews among them. They flocked ^{b)} always together, and here, as every where in Europe, they distinguish themselves from the people of China. Their beards, features, and complexion, confirmed my conjecture. I sometimes asked my Chinese acquaintances, what they were: they gave me many answers in broken and mixed dialect of English

a) le gros de la nation.

b) to flock *Haufenweise zusammenkommen*.

glifh and Portugueze which I could not understand. One of them told me, pointing at one of them: „*He no cari China man's Iofs, hapoter Iofs*„ or, in better Englifh: that man does not worfhip our god, but has another god.

Von der Religion der Chinefen insbefondere.

There are at this day three remarkable fefts in China. The first are the followers of *Li-Laokun* who lived, as they fay, 500 years before Chrif. This *Li-Laokun* taught that God was corporeal; and that he had many fubordinate deities under his government. His difciples ftudy magic, and pretend that they can make a drink which will give men immortality.

The fecond feft of the learned are the difciples of the celebrated *Congfou-tfe* their countryman, who lived in the time of Artaxerxes, Nehemia and Malachi, about 450 years before our Saviour, and is faid to have died of grief, when he feared that he could not reform the world. He inftructed the people in philofophy, and left behind him many admirable precepts of morality. His writings and precepts are ftill held in great efteem by all the people. He taught that God was a moft pure and perfect principle, the fountain and effence of all beings, and ordered temples and images to be dedicated to him. This *Congfou* is worfhipped with the profoundeft adoration.

But the third feft, who worfhip the idol *Fo*, is much more numerous than the other two. This idol was transported from India about thirty two years after our Saviour.

His priests, which are called the *Bonzes*, teach several moral precepts, and that there is a state of rewards and punishments after this life. They teach likewise, that it is not lawful to kill any living creature, or to drink wine; and do not forget to instruct them how much it is their duty and interest to entertain and nourish the priests themselves, to build temples and monasteries, and to perform the penances they enjoin; and as they hold the doctrine of transmigration, they tell their followers that, if they neglect these things, they shall suffer the greatest torment after death, and their souls shall inhabit some ugly ^{c)} reptile or beast of burden.

Bilderdienst und abgöttische Verehrung der Vorfahren.

Their images are so numerous, that there is not a house, a ship or boat, but must have one consecrated by a priest. Many of them worship the sun, moon and other planets, the souls of great ancestors, or the authors of any useful invention, and have altars and images erected to them.

In every house you will find a table, on which the names of the father, grandfather and great-grandfather, of the family, are written; before which they burn incense, and prostrate themselves; and when the father of a family dies the great-grandfather's name is taken away, and the name of the deceased added, to make up the number. Great men, whose circumstances will allow it, erect temples to the memory of their ancestors, where

c) *häßlich*.

where they offer an annual sacrifice. The Emperor sacrifices to seven of his ancestors, the tributary kings to five, and the Mandarines to three.

The custom of burning incense and prostrating themselves before the tombs of their ancestors, is so much riveted ^{d)} on the minds of the people, that the Iesuites tell us, they could not reform their converts from the practice, and were obliged to wink at it ^{e)}, though their holy father, the Pope, has reprimanded them for it.

Geringſchätzung der Chineſer gegen den Prieſterſtand.

I muſt not omit one material obſervation with regard to the prieſts and clergy of China, namely, that they are in no great eſteem among the people. They are generally of very low extraction; their only ſtudy is the numerous readings of their theology; and as they are excluded from converſation with men of letters, are generally very ignorant of the world. All this contributes to render them contemptible to the Chineſe laity, who are generally people of ingenuity and politeneſs. The prieſts are almoſt all very poor, and obliged to celibacy while they continue in orders, of which they are at liberty to divest themſelves at pleaſure. But if they are guilty of fornication ^{f)}, or any enormous crime, while they are in orders, they muſt expiate it with their lives. The high prieſt *Chiam* is the only one excepted. He is allowed to mar-

I 3

ry,

d) eingeprägt.
f) Hurerey.

e) durch die Finger ſehen.

ry, because the high priesthood in China must be continued in one family, and he is in such repute, that he is always kept near the Emperor's person.

None of any figure or fortune incline to have their children consecrated to serve at the altar: so that the priests are reduced to purchase children from such parents as are obliged from necessity to sell them; and these they call Novices, and educate them in the sacerdotal legends and services.

Das Laternenfest der Chineser.

There is none of their festivals solemnized with such pomp and splendour as that called by us the *Feast of Lanthorns*. All the people in the city and suburbs hang up lanthorns in the streets and in their houses, and those upon the water, hang them up upon their boats, and in all places they are hung so near each other, that they are indeed innumerable, and make the night appear as light as day. On this occasion, they give themselves up to all the extravagancies, practised at a carnival. Some of these lanthorns are very costly. The people will retrench their other necessary expence, that they may do something extraordinary on this night.

The Chinese say, that this feast took its rise from the following accident. A great Mandarin, who had used the people under him with great humanity and tenderness, had a beloved daughter, who took it into her head one evening to throw herself into the river and was drowned. As soon as she was missed, the whole people both in town and coun-

country, who lived under his jurisdiction, out of gratitude, sallied forth with lanthorns, to look for the young lady, but she could not be found. Every year afterwards the people of that province assembled with their lanthorns on the anniversary ^{g)} of that evening, and, in process of time, this practice among a few, prevailed over all, and is now become an established and universal custom.

Progressen der Chineser in den Wissenschaften und Künsten.

These people have a fond conceit of their own parts and learning. They have diligently studied astronomy, indeed, and have made many observations and calculations; yet, when the Iesuits came among them, they shewed them many errors they had fallen into on that head, and corrected and reformed their Kalendar. They are mighty astrologers and fortune-tellers.

They have little skill in physick, though they pretend to understand a distemper by feeling the pulse only. They never let blood, nor give clysters; and, though there are a sort of apothecary shops, where roots, herbs, and other simples ^{h)} are sold, and which they deal in much ⁱ⁾, yet all are allowed to practise physick.

Natural philosophy, as a system, is not known here; artificial logic they have not.

I 4

Their

^{g)} *Jahrstag.*

^{h)} *Arzneikräuter.*

ⁱ⁾ to deal in something *Gewerbe mit etwas treiben.*

Their geometry is superficial, being confined to a few propositions, and some algebraic problems. Their arithmetic is somewhat better. They do not make use of figures as in Europe, yet they have a little board, of about a foot and an half long, across which ten or twelve parallel lines are drawn, and upon which are strung^{k)} several moveable buttons: by putting these together, or separating them, which they do very fast^{l)}, they cast up accounts very accurately and speedily.

The Chinese are such excellent imitators of art, that they can now make glass, watches, pistols, or any piece of mechanism from European patterns^{m)}. Their sculpture is well performed. The gates of their cities, towers and bridges, are very august. Yet they use not near so many working-toolsⁿ⁾ as we do in Europe.

Schauspielkunst der Chineser.

It is a common thing for the Chinese to act a play before their idols, after their worship is over. I have seen several acted in different *Iofs-houses*, and every body is welcome to see them gratis. Sometimes the smaller temples are so crowded by the poorer sort of people among the Chinese, that an European can scarcely get in.

I have also frequently seen plays acted upon open scaffolds^{o)} erected in the public streets of Canton; and those in half a dozen streets at a time. Their actors are richly dressed; and as none of the fair sex are allowed

k) auf eine Schnur gezogen.

l) sehr geschwind.

m) nach Europäischen Mustern.

n) Werkzeuge.

o) Gerüste.

wed to appear on a stage, they employ young men or boys of an effeminate air and countenance, to act the woman's part.

They have both tragic and comic performances. These, especially the first, they seem to act with great propriety both of gesture and expression. They represent the workings of the passions so naturally, that they often affect very sensibly even an European spectator, though ignorant of the language with which this action is accompanied.

The subject of their plays is generally the life and heroic actions of some brave man among their ancestors. Some of my Chinese acquaintance told me, that these plays were instituted, and often repeated, to recommend bravery and virtue, and to ridicule vice, and to give the mob p) an idea of the constitution, the different degrees of dignity in the empire, and the authority and manners of the court, which in such an extensive empire, the common people could not be otherwise informed of.

The whole streets are so filled on these occasions with a pleased and attentive crowd, that you cannot pass by. The plays are generally concluded with tumbling q), fighting, or combating with giants or wild beasts; or else with some humorous postures, gestures, and expressions, calculated to raise a laugh.

Sprache der Chineser.

The dialect the Chinese use in common with us, is a mixture of European languages,

I 5

but

p) Pöbel.

q) springen.

but mostly of English and Portugueze, together with some words of their own. They cannot pronounce the letter *r* at all. *Fuki* with them signifies *Friend*; *Fanguoy*, *Frank* &c. and when they would say, *I saluted him*, or *made my compliments to him*, they say, *I moiki handsom face for he*, *I moiki grandi chin-chin for he*.

When they talk in their own language, one would imagine they were singing, especially when they speak the court or Mandarin dialect, which every person of any consideration must learn to understand and speak, otherwise he is sure to be despised.

Their language is so difficult, that I have heard some of the natives say, that Mr. Flint, the company's agent at Canton, though he had been among them from his early youth, cannot yet speak it perfectly. And I know, that few English people, though they have remained there a full half-year, were able to bring away a single Chinese word with them, that is, to pronounce it so justly as that the Chinese would understand them; for the least depression or elevation of the tone or accent of a word entirely alters the signification; so that, by committing an error in the sound, you may innocently affront a Chinese, when you intend to pay him the greatest compliment.

Thus the Chinese language is not only difficult to learn, but is as difficult to speak after it is learned. Some say it contains only about 230 words, mostly monosyllables, at least

least they seem so to us from their manner of pronounciation, and that they are multiplied or varied by the different accents that are given them; for that the sameword, pronounced with a stronger or weaker inflection of the voice, is of different significations.

The dialect differs somewhat in the different provinces; but all their writings agree in the same general characters or marks, and are read by all. The Court or Mandarin dialect is used in all the courts of justice, and understood every where in the empire.

Chinesische Schrift.

The Chinese have no alphabet, each character is a syllable, or an entire word. The art of putting letters together to form a word is a mystery to them. The Missionaries assign this great multitude of characters as a principal reason that the Chinese have made such small improvement in science. Though a great part of their time is spent in learning to read and write the characters, yet no one man is master of them all; for they are esteemed learned who can decypher 15, or 20,000 of them, and there is no less than 240,000 in all.

In writing, the characters are placed in a perpendicular line from the top to the bottom of the page. Instead of a pen, they use a pencil, which they do not hold obliquely, but perpendicularly upon the paper. A fair hand-writing is esteemed a great qualification here, so that without it a man has no chance for preferment.

Vor-

*Vortreffliche Würdigung des wahren Verdienstes
in China. Ackerbau.*

Upon the whole merit alone can advance a man to any considerable place in China, as there are here no hereditary nobility. The whole nation, therefore, apply themselves to learning, trade or agriculture. As a man's fortune depends entirely upon his capacity and application to business, great care is taken of the education of their children; so that they have few idle hands or drones ^{r)} that live on the industry and labour of others.

Agriculture is of such esteem in this empire, that some of the Emperors have thought it not unworthy of their royal care to promote it, and even to teach it to their subjects. The Emperor called *Yen* held the plough himself, and his Empress assisted in planting mulberry-trees, and kept a house for silk-worms in the palace, in order to set a good example to their subjects. All the cloaths the Emperor wore were of the Empress's own making, and a feast was at that time instituted, to the honour of agriculture, which is held annually about the vernal equinox, when the governors of the several towns and provinces assemble the peasants, and march before them in procession, with garlands, music, streamers ^{s)}, and the instruments of agriculture carried before them.

The histories inform us that the Emperor *Hiacu* betook himself to husbandry in his old

^{r)} *Hummeln, vornehme Müßiggänger.*

^{s)} *Fähnlein.*

old age, and plowed and sowed the ground himself for three years before his death, to set an example to his subjects, and sent persons skilled in agriculture, into every part of his dominions to instruct them how to improve the ground to the best advantage.

The Chinese ascribe the invention of the plough, and several instruments of agriculture, and the proper method of sowing wheat, rice, barley, and other grains to some of their Emperors; and books have been written by their princes upon the subject of tillage, the nature of different soils, and the manner proper for each, which serve as directions to the husbandmen at this day.

Von den vornehmsten Manufakturprodukten der Chineser.

Seidene und baumwollene Zeuge.

The principal manufacture in China is silk, and which is esteemed the finest in the world. The most common sort of silk is called *Touanze*; it is like our satin ^{t)}, and either plain, or wrought with flowers and other figures. In summer the better sort wear a silk called *Cha* for their gowns, which is a sort of taffety. They manufacture gold-tissue ^{u)}, plush, velvet, crapes, druggets, serges and tammies.

They have great plenty of cotton, of which they make several kinds of cloth. There

^{t)} *Atlas*.

^{u)} *drap d'or*.

There grows a plant called *Co*, peculiar to China, of which they make a very fine stuff. I saw a silk at Canton called *Lo*, which exceeds any thing of the kind in the world.

Chinesisches Porzellan.

Porcelain or China is a very considerable branch of manufacture in this empire. In the province of *Quamfi* there are numberless quarries ^{x)} of a very tough ^{y)} white clay, or rather soft white stone; which being washed, and thereby separated from the earth with which it is mixed, is dried and beat down to a very fine powder, which being made into a paste, they knead and bake it a long time. For this purpose they use a peculiar water brought from another province, as there is no water fit for it near the place where the clay is dug ^{z)}. The clay is impregnated ^{a)} with a salt which purifies and refines it. After the clay is sufficiently kneaded, they form the vessels in moulds ^{b)}, and expose them to the sun. The vessels are painted by degrees, and after this they wash them all over with a lay ^{c)} or varnish ^{d)} mixed with the same matter of which the vessels are made, which last operation gives them a fine lustre. The last part of the work is, to put the vessels in a furnace, heated by a gentle and uniform fire, and when they are sufficiently hardened, they remove them by flow de-

x) Steinbrüche, Gruben.

y) zähe.

z) gegraben wird, von to dig graben.

a) geschwängert.

b) Formen.

c) Anstrich von Kalk.

d) Firnis.

degrees from the furnace, so as to let them cool gradually. In short, it requires care, patience and caution, to execute this excellent manufacture.

Von
dem Handel und Verkehr der Chineser
mit den Europäischen Nationen.

Nebst
einer vorläufigen Beschreibung der Stadt
Canton und der umliegenden Gegenden.

Lage der Stadt Canton am schiffreichen Flusse Ta.

The city of Canton is the greatest port in China, and the only one frequented by Europeans. It is situate upon the east side of the large river *Ta*; from the mouth of which it lies about fifty miles. The river *Ta* is somewhat broader than the Thames at London, but the crowds of small vessels that ply ^{e)} the *Ta*, are vastly more numerous. For the space of four or five miles opposite the city of Canton you have an extensive wooden town of large vessels and boats, stowed ^{f)} so closely, that there is scarcely room for a large boat to pass. They are generally drawn up in ranks, with a narrow passage left for vessels to pass and repass. Some of them are large vessels, of eight or nine hundred tons burden, called *Junks*, with which they perform

e) befahren.

f) zusammengedrängt.

form their foreign voyages. Here are also, as upon other rivers of China, an incredible number of small boats, in which poor families live all their life-long, and are always at home, as they carry their houses along with them.

Umliegende Gegend von Canton.

From the top of some adjacent hills, on which forts are built, you have a fine prospect of the country. It is beautifully interspersed with mountains, little hills, and valleys, all green, and these again pleasantly diversified with small towns, villages, high towers, temples, the seats of Mandarines and other great men, which are watered with delightful lakes, canals and small branches from the river *Ta*, on which are numberless boats and jonks sailing different ways through the most fertile places of the country.

Thore, Straßen und Häuser der Stadt Canton.

The city is entered by seven iron gates, and within-side of each there is a guard-house. The streets are very strait, but generally narrow and paved with flag-stones ^{g)}. Though there are no magnificent houses in Canton, most of them being built only one, and none more than two stories; yet they take up a large extent of ground, many of them having square courts within their walls.

The Chinese have all such a regard to privacy, that no windows ^{h)} are made towards the streets, but in shops and places of public business. Within the gate or entry to each

g) mit viereckigten Pflastersteinen.

h) Fenstern.

each house, a skreen ⁱ⁾ is placed, to prevent strangers from looking in upon the opening of the gate; and you enter the house either on the right or left-side of this middle skreen, where there are little alleys on both sides.

The furnitures of the best houses I was in, were cabinets, tables, painted skreens, china, pictures, and pieces of white taffety upon the walls, upon which was written in Chinese characters, religious and moral sentences. They have no chimneys; but in their stead, place a shallow iron pot filled with charcoal ^{k)} in the middle of the room in winter, which is ready to suffocate people, who are not accustomed to it.

The inside walls of their houses are never wainscotted ^{l)} nor painted, but are covered with thin white paper. The windows are made of cane ^{m)} or rattan ^{m)}. In winter they cut oyster-shells into diamond-shape, and set them in wooden frames ⁿ⁾, which afford but a very dull light.

Marktplätze zu Canton.

There are great numbers of market-places for fish, flesh, poultry, garden-herbs, and all provisions. Every thing is sold cheap. Fishmongers ^{o)} keep their fishes in cisterns alive. Carp, and all other fish are here in variety and plenty, but have a muddy ^{p)} taste.

I

i) Schirm.

k) mit Kohlen (von Holz).

l) gestäfelt.

m) dünn spanisch Rohr.

n) Rähmen.

o) Fischhändler.

p) schlammig.

I was very much surprised at first to see dogs, cats, rats, frogs etc. in their market-places for sale. But I soon found that they made no scruple of eating any sort of meat, and have as good an appetite for that which died in a ditch ^{q)}, as that which was killed by a butcher. The dogs and cats were brought commonly alive in baskets ^{r)}, were mostly young and fat, and kept very clean. The rats, some of which were of a monstrous size, were very fat, and generally hung up, with the skin ^{s)} upon them, upon nails at the posts ^{u)} of the market-place.

Frogs, which are the greatest dainty ^{t)} here, are sold very dear. They are black and loathsome ^{u)} to an European eye; but the Chinese say they have a very fine taste. The rats, they say, eat well; and snake-broth ^{x)} has been in reputation there long before it was known to us.

Volksmenge zu Canton. Feierliche Aufzüge daselbst.

Though I have been in Paris, London, Amsterdam etc. I never saw any thing like the crowds of people that attended the trading streets of Canton. I often thought that they were going to walk over one another. It is reckoned that there is in the city and suburbs, 1,200,000 people; and you will scarce find a day in a whole year, but there are 5000 trading vessels lying before the city.

Few days pass in Canton but there are processions in the streets. When a Mandarin of

- q) Graben. r) in Körben. s) Haut.
 u) Pfoften, Pfähle. t) Leckerbissen.
 u) unappetitlich, widrig. x) Schlangenbrühe.

of note passes in the street, or in the highway, he moves in great state, either on horseback, or in a large chair, carried by five or six men. Several flags ^{y)} are carried before them, and large lacquered ^{z)} peels ^{z)}, painted black and red, with large golden characters expressing the titles and dignities. Close to the Mandarin are several men carrying magnificent umbrella's, to keep off the light of the sun. In the front are a number of men, with highcrowned hats, with two large pheasant feathers in each, who make a hideous noise, crying incessantly *Ho - ot!* to warn every one to go off the streets, or stand aside, till the Mandarin pass by. Next to them are fellows with small chains in their hands, ready to throw over any body's head, and to drag them by the neck, that do not obey the call, and stand aside till the Mandarin pass by.

After these a number of executioners follow, with ensigns of punishment in their hands, such as sword, ax, etc. wearing caps like a sugar-loaf.

Englische Faktoreien zu Canton.

The English factories are situate in one of the best streets in town. It is very large, has a number of courts, halls and warehouses, with convenient rooms for lodging a great number of people. Every officer belonging to the company's ships has his peculiar room or apartment in the factory, where they deposite the goods they purchase till they are shipped. And, for the greater ease and

- K 2

con-

y) Flaggen.

z) lackirte Schilder.

conveniency they employ Chinese servants, to clean the rooms, make the beds, go of errands ^{a)}, and to do other menial ^{b)} offices, while they remain in the factory. Sometimes the petty merchants will offer their sons to you for servants, in order to be taught the English language, and to qualify them for carrying on trade with the Europeans, in which they find their account.

Every morning we were attended by a levee of Chinese merchants, brokers ^{c)}, and tradesmen, inquiring if we wanted any thing in their way. On these occasions they are exceeding complaisant, are sure to give you particular directions to their houses, to extol their goods, and invite you to tea with them, of which they are very liberal. When you visit them, they give you samples ^{d)} of such goods as they have to dispose of, that you may carry them to the factory, and shew them to your friends. I have known some of the common sailors go about, in order to procure samples of tea, rhubarb, and other goods, till they had ingrossed ^{e)} a good quantity, and yet not purchase a sixpenny-worth from any one.

Geselliger Umgang der Europäer zu Canton mit den Chinesern.

Though the Europeans generally reside in their particular factories, and are maintained at the expence of the companies, in whose service they are; yet they are at liberty to reside in a Chinese's house, where they can board

a) Bothschaften zu verrichten.

b) geringe.

c) Mäkler.

d) Proben.

e) aufgesammelt.

board f) on very reasonable terms. And were the Europeans allowed to see and converse with the Chinese women, I believe they would not want plenty of lodgers; but it is a rule among them, never to lodge or even board an European if there is a woman in the house.

The worthiest man I ever knew among them, was one *Tingua*, a broker, with whom I contracted an intimate acquaintance. He was a man of great integrity, and, as he could speak better English than any merchant in Canton, it was of great service to him in his dealings. He was particularly civil and respectful to strangers, with whom he always behaved in a free, open and frank manner, by which means he was introduced to a general acquaintance with the Europeans, particularly the English. He was neither uncharitable nor suspicious; for he would eat and drink heartily with us, take a glass of our arrack punch, and manage our knives and forks gently, which are held in abomination by the generality of the Chinese.

As it is a prevailing custom in China for every one to celebrate his birth-day, honest *Tingua* came one morning to my apartment in the factory before I was out of bed, told me that this was his birth-day, and invited me to come, accompanied with one of my select friends, and sup with him in the evening. I had been already too sensible of his civility and the good opinion he entertained of me, to refuse his kind invitation. Accordingly we went in the evening to his house,

K 3

where,

f) in die Kost gehen.

where, after the usual ceremonies, we took our seats. The company consisted of four Chinese, Timgua, my companion and myself. Timgua stood interpreter betwixt the four Chinese and us, who soon grew fond of our conversation. In a little time supper came upon the table, served in the Chinese manner. Timgua, the master of the feast, took up his *chopsticks* with an air, as already described, which was followed by the rest of the company. Upon which we also tried to use their ceremonies in eating; but Timgua observing us to perform them very awkwardly, desired us to use our own freedom, as if we were at home; and ordered the servant to bring us two small forks, instead of the chopsticks. The Chinese were as much diverted with our manner of eating as we were with theirs, in which they use so much ceremony, that I am persuaded it must take away a good deal of their pleasure in eating.

Though there were a good many different dishes set before us, all cut into small bits ready for the mouth, yet I did not care to venture on any that I did not know; as I imagined they might possibly be dogs, cats, rats, or frogs, which they eat as commonly there, as we do beef and mutton in England. My companion and I contented ourselves therefore with a dish of fish, and some other things that were plain and known to us. Every now and then, each guest takes a cup of *Shamshew*, a liquor mentioned already, which is served up hot. All the company lift their cups together, drink, take them from their mouths,

mouths, and set them on the table, at the same instant, following the motion or signal of the master of the house.

After supper, fruit, sweetmeats, etc. were set upon the table, which were fine and delicious. Then the company were regaled with tea; but it was now about eleven o'clock at night; and as we had not been accustomed to drink it so late, we excused ourselves, took leave of our Chinese friends, and returned to the factory, attended by Timgua's servant carrying a lanthorn before us.

During my stay at Canton, when I wanted to have any thing explained in regard to the manners and customs of the people, I had always recourse to my friend *Timgua*, who as he was very ready to gratify my curiosity about China, and to satisfy me in my enquiries, was, at the same time, very solicitous, to know the nature of the government, manners and language of Britain. He often went along with me to the country, and visited every place of any note, to which he could procure me access. I wanted much to see his wife; but that, notwithstanding our intimacy, I could never accomplish, such a bad impression have they received of Europeans.

When I reflect on the rudeness of our English sailors to those of the Chinese with whom they dare to be free, even the women themselves not excepted when they come in their way, I am not surprized that they are so reserved. This licentious freedom so remarkable in the behaviour of the English sail-

lors, is perhaps a great prejudice to our trade there, as well as with other nations.

Lebhaftes Verkehr auf dem Flusse Ta zwischen den Europäern und Chinesern.

The inhabitants of the river *Ta*, (for so they may be called) are miserably poor, and, very much exposed to the rude behaviour of our sailors. Their boats come crowding about the European ships at Wampo, especially at dinner-time, begging victuals from the people aboard. In return for which they offer to wash their linnen and to do other menial services, which they are often entrusted with. They always make a great noise, gaping ^g) for victuals, and pointing to their mouths to express their hunger, hold up their hands, or a little basket fixed to a bamboo-pole ^h) with which they reach up to those who incline to give them victuals, or any thing to do.

Good government is not more necessary in any part of the world, than it is in this river; for which purpose many small men of war ⁱ) are stationed at proper distances, upon the river. They are built very long, and can use a great number of oars on each side. In every vessel a Mandarin presides, having under his command a number of soldiers and rowers. These vessels salute one another as they pass, by ringing ^k) of gongs, a sort of bells ^k), on which they strike with a piece of wood. They keep the other boats

^g) to gape *das Maul aufsperrn.*

^h) *Bambus-Stange.*

ⁱ) *Kriegsschiffe.*

^k) to ring a bell *mit einer Schelle klingeln.*

boats in great awe, and judge in every case that happens on the river.

All the way from the city of Canton, where the English factories are situate, to Wampo, where the ships lie, (which is about twelve or fourteen miles) is a most agreeable passage by water. The eye is entertained with pleasant green and fruitful fields on each side the river *Tu*, interspersed with villages and lofty *Pagoda's*, or steeples, and numberless boats of all sizes passing and repassing.

Merkwürdigkeiten zu und unweit Wampo.

At Wampo there are great numbers of magnificent and splendid tombs of the Chinese grandees. A little below this town there is a large field of rice, interspersed with rising grounds, which is generally overflowed at high water; where the European ships commonly bargain with a *compradore* or sutler ¹⁾, to furnish them with victuals and other necessities during their stay. These people build a house for each ship on one of these pieces of rising ground close by the water-edge. They are called by us bankfalls. In these we deposite every thing that incommodes us aboard. In these also we kill fresh provisions, and perform every other business that cannot be done so conveniently aboard.

Each bankfall is guarded by a number of the ship's company, well-armed, day and night, who are under the command of a mate ²⁾ or midshipman ³⁾, called the captain

K 5

of

1) Marketender.

2) Gesell. (In der Schiffersprache ein Steuermann.)

3) Mischmann oder Mischifmann, ein Unterofficier (auf einem Schiffe).

of the bankfall. This officer ought to be very alert in placing the centinels, in taking particular care to prevent them from sleeping, and that no post is left vacant; for otherwise the bankfall may be robbed by a wild and thievish people, who are always lurking about them in boats, or in the rice-ground, watching an opportunity. During our stay they were once bold enough to take the musket out of a centinel's hand, when he was a little drowsy ⁿ⁾, and to present it at him, which soon made him retire, and gave them an opportunity of stealing.

Zollhäuser. Geschenksüchtigkeit der Zollbedienten u. s. w.

All European boats and those of China that have European passengers or goods aboard, must have a pass from the *Happo*, which must be renewed at every *Happo*, or customhouse in their passage. If this pass is neglected, the Europeans expose themselves to the insults and threatenings of the haughty Mandarines, who imagine all foreigners, of what rank soever, to be greatly their inferiors. As soon as the European ships come to an anchor at Wampo, a couple of customhouse boats are placed on each side of them, to see that nothing is smuggled ^{o)} out of or into the ship. The customhouse officers must be bribed with presents now and then, otherwise they become very troublesome. It is best to feed them from time to time with small presents; for if you give them one ever so large, it

n) schläfrig.

o) heimlich bei Seite geschafft.

it will be soon forgot, unless their memories are frequently refreshed by another. In short, it requires a great deal of patience and cunning to trade with the Chinese. An equal temper and a smooth tongue, are qualifications absolutely necessary here; for they must be dealt with in the same crafty manner that they deal with others.

Ein- und ausgehende Waaren.

The gains in a Chinese voyage chiefly arise from the goods imported from China, and not from what are carried thither. We buy the most part of their goods with silver. Lead p) is almost the only commodity for which our merchants get more than prime-cost q). Goods imported from China, are teas, porcelaine, quiksilver, vermilion r), and other fine colours; china root, raw and wrought silks, copper in bars s), camphire, sugar-candy, fans, pictures, lacquered ware t); soy, borax, lapis lazuli, rhubarb, coloured stones, *tutanague*, i. e. a sort of tin; gold, with many things made of mother of pearl.

p) Blei.

q) das was einem eine Waare selbst kostet.

r) Zinnober.

s) Barren, Stangen.

t) lackirte Waare.

Beschreibung der Rückreise, von Canton in China, nach London.

Ankunft nach Pulo Condore. Von den Einwohnern dieser Insel.

After a stay of some months at Canton, preparations were making to sail for England. All things being in readiness we weighed ^{u)} from *Wampo*, under a fine breeze, and on the 27th of December came in sight of *Pulo Condore*, which is an island subject to the king of *Cochinchina* and inhabited by *Cochinchinese* and *Cambogians*. The English settled on it in the year 1702, and built a slight fort with earth and palisadoes in the S. E. harbour. There are two or three small villages, or towns near the sea; the inhabitants are lazy fishers, turtlers ^{x)}, or dammer-gatherers ^{y)}. All manner of arts are in a starved condition among them; nor do they seem to value improvements, even in what conduces to their subsistence; for if success comes not in its old course, they never owe it to invention. One fortunate day will keep their families a week: nor care they to set out again, till necessity reduces them to it; in which they are much like the Malaysians about Sumatra.

The *Cochinchinese* are also featured much like the Malaysians, but of whiter, or rather yellower complexions. They have small eyes

u) to weigh *Anker lichten*.

x) *Schildkrötenfänger*.

y) dammer s. weiter hinten im Text. a gatherer ein Sammler.

eyes after the China make, and the women imitate those of that country in every thing, but confinement and little feet. This sex goes better drest here than at Acheen or Malacca. They are of a low stature, and well set.

Naturgeschichte der Insel Condore.

The chief produce of this island is dammer, made of a kind of turpentine, which distills from a large tree. They gather it every morning, and boil it till it becomes hard like rosin ^{z)}, and then it may be used to good purpose, about any thing where pitch is necessary.

Wild nutmeg ^{a)}, cabbage ^{b)} and mango trees ^{c)} are common in the woods. The nutmeg is a large high tree without boughs, till near the top, where it shoots with large branches. The fruit grows like a wall-nut, and has as many coverings before one comes to the kernel or meg. The mace ^{d)} grows betwixt the shell and the green or outer coat; 'tis of a bright red colour, but fades ^{e)} to a dead yellow, like the true mace, from which it cannot easily be distinguished by the eye. The Kernel differs from the true nutmeg in taste and smell, and is a little longer in proportion to its bigness. The Chinese, who came hither to trade with our settlement, gathered great quantity of both sorts, I believe, to mix with the true and impose on their countrymen, at their return.

The

z) Harz.

a) Muscatennuss.

b) eine Art Palmbaum.

c) Mangobäume.

d) Macis, Muscatenblüthe.

e) verschiefst.

The cabage seems to be no other than a wild Coconut-tree; and as to the Mango tree it grows in most parts of the East Indies in gardens and orchards, but here it is likewise wild in the woods. It is full of boughs and leaves, and bears its fruit like an apple-tree.

Provisions are so scarce, that the produce of the island is hardly sufficient for the inhabitants. What rice they have of their own is so inconsiderable, as to be esteemed a rarity among them. There are, indeed plenty of fish about the island; but the people are too lazy to be over-stocked ^{f)} with any thing.

There are likewise *Guanas*, *Chaccos*, snakes, squirrels, monkeys, wild bees, and prodigious swarms of ants ^{g)}. *Guanas* are here very large; they feed among the rocks, at low water, on muscles ^{h)}, and what other fish they can get, and are often found in the woods near the sea, where they can find subsistence, and live free from disturbance; and sometimes they are actually in the water, like an aligator; but I never heard of any damage done by them. They are in shape like an eel ⁱ⁾, and are some of them 5 or 6 feet long. I know not if they are eaten here: at Madras, and other places, where *Guanas* are common, they are esteemed wholesome, and the most nourishing flesh that is; and therefore physicians often prescribe the broth of them for persons recovering from fevers, fluxes and other weakening distempers.

Chacco's, as cuckoos, receive their names from the noise they make in the evening, when

^{f)} im Ueberfluß versehen.

^{g)} Ameisen.

^{h)} Muscheln.

ⁱ⁾ eine Art Wasser-Eidechse.

when they call loud enough to be heard at a great distance. By day they lie so close in hollow and decay'd trees, that I could never see one of them, though I have heard them all round me in the night. They are much like lizards, but larger. Tis said, their dung is so venomous, that if it drops on any part of one's skin, and is not immediately washed away, 'twill cause a mortification to that degree, that nothing but amputation can save the patient.

Here are snakes of several sorts, some very long. I shot one that was $13\frac{3}{4}$ foot long, and had two full grown hens, and five small chickens, undigested in its belly.

Fortsetzung der Reise von Condore bis Muskat.

On the 29th of December we got again under sail, and next day we came to the straights of Malacca, from whence we made the best of our way towards Ceylon. After a stay of some days here, we again weighed anchor, and after having coasted along the South part of the island we made Cape Comarin, and passed Tegapatam next day.

Tegapatam is a Dutch factory on the coast of Malabar. A little to the Northward of it lies Ajengo, a small fort belonging to the English East India company. From thence we proceeded toward Calicut, where we continued till the 10th of March, and shipt about 200 bales of rice, and other provisions for our passage to Mocho, whither we directed our course; but either through mismanagement, or contrary winds, were obliged to bear up for Muskat, to refresh, and thence
for

for Gombroon in Persia, to dispose of our cargo.

We reached Muskat by ten o'clock on the 24th of March. The land from *Cape Ruflegate*, is for the most part mountainous and barren, without trees or shrubs ^{k)} in sight, unless here and there in the valleys, which are very few. Muskat on the coast of Arabia felix is the mouth of the Persian gulph, lies just under the Tropic of Cancer, and is so well improved by the Arabs since they got it out of the hands of the Portugeze, that it is become a terror to all the trading people in India.

The city is in the bottom of the bay surrounded with hills, or rather prodigious rocks on all sides, which make it intolerably hot in the summer.

Stadt Gombroon in Persien.

May 26, about six in the evening we weighed anchor, expecting to reach Gombroon in a very little time; but proving calm soon after we were at sea, we were above a fortnight before we got thither.

Gombroon is the chief port for merchandize in the gulph of Persia. It is a large city, incompassed with a wall towards the land, which is ruined in several places through neglect. Besides the English and Dutch, the most considerable merchants are *Banians* and *Armenians*; *Mahometans* are as numerous, but they seem to prefer the affairs of the country to foreign trade. There are Jews and some
Arabs,

k) *Gesträuche.*

Arabs, who will be piddling ^{l)} about small parcels of goods in a cargo; but are seldom concern'd in great contracts, unless for pearl and jewels.

Von den Persern und den übrigen Einwohnern der Persischen Provinz Kerman.

The Persians differ from the Turks and Arabs in matters of religion, as much as the Protestants from the Roman Catholicks in Christendom, and like them have a mortal hatred for one another on account of faith: inso-much that the priests, at set times every night, from the tops of the Mosques, dispense their blessings to the followers of Haly ^{m)} as loud as they can bawl ⁿ⁾, and wish a dogs - turd ^{o)}, in the teeth of the heretics, the greatest affront, that can be given to a Musleman.

All places of trust are in the possession of Mahometans, yet were the people of this province counted, I believe the Christians and Idolaters would make a greater number than those of that persuasion. The Banians, a trading cast ^{p)} of the Gentoo's, pay the government a certain rate *per annum*, to prohibit the

l) to piddle beim Kauf und Verkauf knickern.

m) Ali war der vierte Kaliph nach Mahomet, und kam erst nach einer vorhergegangenen Wahlstreitigkeit zum Besitz des Kaliphats. Von diesem Wahlstreit schreibt sich unter den Muselmännern der noch fortwährende Haß zwischen der Parthei des Ali und der Gegenparthei her.

n) brüllen.

o) Hundedreck.

p) von der Casteneintheilung der Indianer s. das Englisch-geographische Lesebuch 2. Th. Seite 456.

Neues Engl. Geogr. Leseb. 2. Th.

L

the killing of cows, or any thing of that kind.

The Persians are fair and punctual in bargains, treat foreigners with the greatest complacency, and are grave and serious, as becomes them. Their education contributes not a little to the latter; for, as soon as the boys have left their nurses, they are obliged to attend their fathers in all the visits they receive, and matters of importance they transact with men of worth; not as servants, but with a deference suitable to their birth; where the prudent behaviour of the company makes such an impression on their tender minds, that they have the carriage of men, while they are yet children; free from that unbecoming bashfulness ^{q)}, which our youths retain, in a large measure, by their parents denying them the like opportunities to improve.

The Persian women are not so fair as the Chinese; but better featured. They go neat in their habits according to their abilities, are curious about their hair, and wear but few superfluous ornaments. The men wear unreasonable large *Turbats*, otherwise their dress is graceful enough.

Isel Ormus.

The island of Ormoos, so famous in the flourishing times of the Portuguese, lies at a small distance from Gombroon, and is a perfect Lot's Wife, salt being the only valuable thing it affords. This is produced after a re-

mar-

q) *Blödigkeit.*

markable manner; for it grows in a solid crust, two inches thick, like a scab ^{r)}, upon the surface of the earth; insomuch, that the hills always appear as if they were covered with snow.

A large fort garrisoned with Persians remains still on the North side, which is all that is left to shew it's ancient splendour. The whole island does not yield provisions enough for the soldiers, nor is it for the profits, the Persians are willing to secure it, but to prevent other nations from settling there again, remembring how they suffered by the insolencies of the Portugueze, when they were masters of it.

Ankunft zu Goa. Einige Nachrichten von diesem Handelsplatze der Portugiesen.

We weighed from Gombroon, deep laden with freight ^{s)} good and passengers for Surat, where we arrived soon after.

Surat is the chief port for trade in those parts; people of all nations residing very peaceably under the protection of the government.

After a short stay here, we sailed from Surat river's mouth, passed in sight of Bombay, and arrived at Goa, which is the only place of importance the Portugueze have at present in India; and yet it is but a melancholy one. The viceroy always resides here, and governs with great authority. They ha-

L 2

ve

r) Haut, Rinde.

s) Fracht.

ve continual wars with the Arabs, who at first beat them out of Muskat, have since taken several places from them on the coast of Africa, and are become an overmatch ^{t)} for them in all things.

The chief produce of Goa is Arack, which is made in such great quantities, that all India is supplied with it, as far as the straits of Malacca. Arack seems to be an Indian word for strong- waters of all sorts; for they call our spirits and brandy, English arack. What we understand by that name, is distilled from the liquor, that runs from the coconut- tree without any other mixture.

Fernere Notizen von einigen andern Oertern und Gegenden der Malabarischen Küste.

Carwar, where we arrived after our departure from Goa, is a factory, or rather small fort belonging to the East India Company, who have a chief and council to manage their trade, and about 26 soldiers to defend it against the insults of the country people. Carwar is healthful, and the pleasantest place on the Malabar coast for a sportsman ^{u)} to reside in; red- deer ^{x)}, wild peacocks ^{y)}, and other game, being plenty in the woods. Tigers and leopards frequent particular places, where it is not safe to go alone.

Telichery is another small fort of the East- India Company's, about fourty miles North of Calicut, where they have a few soldiers

t) überlegne Gegner.

x) roth Wild.

u) Weidmann.

y) Pfauen.

diers to defend their trade, which is chiefly in pepper and cardamums. Cananore, Telichery and Calicut, are the likeliest places in India to afford cardamums.

Calicut is as considerable for trade as any port betwixt Cape Comarin and Surat. It was formerly subject to the Portugueze, as was all the Malabar coast, from *Cocheen* in 10° , to *Damon* in 20° N. Latitude. They had a strong fort here, which after long wars with the *Nears* ²⁾ was taken from them, and is since washed away by the sea; there is but very little left of it, which may be seen only at low - water; whence I am persuaded the sea has gained considerably on this part of the coast.

The *Nears*, who are the head sort of the people, are the most superstitious Gentoos in India. They have a great many Roman Catholics and Mahometans among them; the French have a factory, and the Armenians live up and down the town in houses of their own, or lodgings, as their occasions require.

The country is full of trees, and affords variety of fruits, that are good in their kinds. There are several sorts of wild beasts in the woods, as tygers, leopards, wild hogs, deer, monkeys, jackals ^{a)}, hares etc. The monkeys about Calicut are larger than ordinary, and keep in great companies in the woods. It is very diverting to see with what agility they jump ^{b)} from tree to tree. Jackals are remarkable for howling in the night; one

L 3

2) *Nairen*.

a) *Eine Art Füchse*.

b) *hüpfen*.

alone making as much noise, as three or four cur dogs ^{c)}; and in different notes, as if there were half a dozen of them got together. The notion we have of their being only found where lions are, is very improbable; for I never heard of lions in India, and yet jackals are more numerous than foxes in England; and how there came to be so good an understanding betwixt those creatures, as to assist one another in getting their prey in Africa and Arabia, where they are together, is a mystery, I cannot unfold.

The Malabar coast is in general very fruitful, and affords an agreeable prospect at sea, being thick set with towns, villages, gardens and woods from one end to the other. Betwixt Cape Comarin and Goa it is chiefly possessed by *Gentoo Rajas* or princes, independent on each other. Their subjects are for the most part idolaters; yet people of all persuasions may find a peaceful residence among them. The Nears who are the governing people will not intermarry with Christians, or Mahometans; nor be free in conversation, as among one another, looking on foreigners as altogether unclean ^{d)}; insomuch, that a strict one would think himself defiled ^{e)}, should he but touch the cloaths of an European. Those that are conversant in trade are less scrupulous, yet they neither will eat nor drink out of a vessel an Englishman has handled, till it is washed, and scowered ^{f)}. If it is of earth, they break it without more ado ^{g)}. Some of

c) Hofhunde.

d) unrein.

e) verunreiniget.

f) geschänert.

g) ohne weitere Umstände.

of them are so scrupulous in this respect, that they will not go over a bridge, if one of us stands on it.

The Christians hereabouts are the remains of the Portugueze, and a few Malabar converts ^{h)}).

Ankunft zu Cochin.

From Calicut we kept the Malabar shore on board, till we came to Cocheen, taking in hogs, fowls, and other provisions, as the people brought them off in their boats to us; so that before we left the coast we got above three-score live hogs, and a thousand fowls for fresh provision in our passage.

Cocheen is a strong Dutch settlement, and makes a good appearance at sea. It is in a flourishing condition.

Vorgebirge der guten Hofnung.

Ankunft daselbst u. s. w.

At last we arrived at the Cape of Good-hope, and continued there for convoy till the 12th of Iuly in company with several other English ships. This is a government belonging to the Dutch East India Company, in a very flourishing condition, as are their affairs in all parts of India. I believe, their main design in settling here, was only to procure provisions and refreshments for their shipping going to, and returning from India, which they have long since so well provided for,

L 4

that

^{h)} Bekehrte.

that they are able to supply the greatest fleets, and export whole ship-loads of wine yearly to other parts.

Beschaffenheit des Bodens am Cap. Produkte des Thier- und Pflanzenreichs.

The soil is rich enough to afford plentiful crops of wheat, barley ⁱ⁾ and other grains. Their bread is good and cheap; nor do they want variety of delicate fruits, as lemons, oranges, apples, quinces ^{k)}, pomegranates etc.

The wild beasts of this country are lions, leopards, tyger-cats, wild asses, several sorts of deer, etc. the skins of which may be seen in the Company's house at the great garden, well stuffed, and placed to such advantage, that at a distance they may be mistaken for live ones. The wild ass is the most beautiful creature in the world: how it came to be called an ass I can't tell, unless from its small main ^{l)} and tail.

There is a deer as remarkable for its bigness, as the wild ass for beauty; it is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, of a dun ^{m)} colour, has long black horns without branches, like an Antelope, and makes a very stately appearance. The Hypotamus, or sea-cow, was likewise new to me; nor had I seen a rhinoceros before, whence I spent a considerable time with the greatest satisfaction among them.

Cap-

i) Gerste.

k) Quitten.

l) Mähne.

m) dunkelbraun.

*Capstadt. Regimentsverfassung des Holländischen
Etablissements daselbst.*

The Dutch town is open on all sides, contains above hundred houses, which are well built with stone, one and two stories high, and the streets are regular.

The fort stands about a musket shot from the town, and commands the bay and shore as far as it is good landing. It seems to be as well fortified as the nature of the place it stands on will permit. I was never within it, nor would they allow an Englishman the liberty of walking about it.

The civil government is left wholly to the burghers, where the Company's interest is not concerned; but whenever that clashes ^{a)} with a private person's, the latter must give way to the Governour and Council, who have the sole power of ingrossing ^{o)} or tolerating trade, and laying such impositions and duties thereon, as they see convenient.

The provisions are cheap, and wine at the first hand may be bought for 15 or 16 Rix Dollars per *Leaguer* of 160 gallons ^{p)}, yet the common price for strangers diet is a Rix Dollar *per diem*; and, what is yet a greater hardship, they'll take Spanish Dollars and English Crowns for no more than eight shillings, the same that Rix Dollars pass for; tho' there is at least 25 *per Cent* difference in their value.

L 5

Wine

n) in Collision kömmt.

o) zu erweitern.

p) Ein Gallon, als Weinmaass, beträgt etwas über 3¼ Berliner Quart.

Wine exported, or retailed q) in the town, is charged with a very high excise r): the burghers pay nothing for what is drunk in their families, under which pretence the Company may be defrauded; yet there is such a strict eye kept on houses of entertainment that they will rarely venture to sell without paying the duty; for, should they be once detected, the council would fine s) them at discretion, which has always been severe.

The Governour and Council have power of life and death, according to the laws of Holland. While we lay here three villains were broken on the rack t) for murder; but lesser crimes are punished with banishment for nine and ninety years to *Penguin* island, whence there is but small hope of redemption. This is a low island at the entrance of the bay, where several of these malefactors are employed in drawing of stones for building.

Von den Eingebornen des Landes, oder den Hottentotten.

The native Hotantots were never fit for improvements; nay, so lazy and ignorant were they, before the Europeans came among them, that they knew not the least part of husbandry, and even now they practise nothing of it: so that all the advantages, the Dutch could ever propose, must be from their own people.

For the rest there are so many accounts of the Hotantots extant, and all pretty good, that

q) en Detail verkauft.

r) Accise.

s) mit Geldstrafe belegen.

t) wurden geküders.

that I shall not trouble the reader with a repetition; but content myself with a few remarks on what I have not known taken notice of by others.

They know not the use of letters, and the language they speak, seems to be delivered with a troublesome straining of the jaws ^{u)}. Their words cannot be expressed with our alphabet, being, in a great measure, dead sounds in their throats ^{x)}, and clockings ^{y)} with their tongues like brood-hens; which is so intermixt with the voice, that it seems as disagreeable, as strange to the hearer. This kind of clocking is more perceivable, when they are earnest and loud, than at other times, and their softest words, an English cannot pronounce without difficulty.

All the weapons I saw among them were small lances, or darts about five foot long, which they carry in their hands when they go abroad without business. I know not whence they got them, but the workmanship about the spears seems to be above their own capacities, being most spitefully ^{z)} contrived to lacerate the flesh.

I am a stranger to their ceremonies in marriage and burials, and their forms of salutation, if any: The greatest mark of respect they shew to Europeans, is to retire to a small distance; but I believe, that compliment is rather forced than natural.

Rück-

u) *Kinnbacken.*
y) *Gegluckse.*

x) *Kehlen.*
z) *recht boshafft.*

Rückkunft nach England.

After our departure from the Cap of Good - hope, we arrived at St. Helena, and from thence at Iohn Fernando, a small uninhabited island in Latitude 4° S. on the coast of Brasil. The Portugeze were formerly settled on it, but having been often abused by privateers ^{a)} and pirates, they withdrew their effects to Bresil. We lay here but two days, to wood and water ^{b)}, and then made the best of our way for Europe.

Having thus brought the reader to the end of these remarks on the trade and people in several parts of India, etc. I shall give him a short account of the management of the Dutch in their affairs, that way. I had it from a friend of mine, and shall insert it with very few alterations from the original.

a) Kaper.

b) um Holz und Wasser einzunehmen.

Regimentsverwaltung der Holländisch - Ostindischen Angelegen- heiten.

A) IN OSTINDIEN.

*Titel und Rangordnung der Beamten im Dienst
der Ostindischen Compagnie.*

1) Under - Assistant, *Scrifer* or Writer is the lowest degree, and is chiefly supplied with foldiers taken of the guards. 2) Assistant. 3) Upper - Assistant, Book - keeper or Secretary. 4) Under - Copeman. 5) Copeman. 6) Upper - Copeman. 7) Commandore. 8) Directore. 9) Governor. 10) Extraordinary Council of India. 11) Ordinary Council of India at Batavia. 12) The Directore General at Batavia. 13) The Governor General at Batavia.

Military persons give place to civil of the same rank, viz. A Commandore precedes a Major; an Upper - Copeman a Captain, and a Copeman a Lieutenant. — There are three Majors in India; one at Batavia, one at Ceylon, and one at Amboina or Banda. They assist the Governors in military affairs; and have the command over all other officers and foldiers.

Seamen are ranked as follows: 1) a Common Seaman. 2) Third Mate, Gunner, Boat-swain, and Skeeman. 3) Under - Steer - man, or Second - Mate. 4) Upper - Steer - man, or Chief - Mate. 5) Sweepers. 6) Commandores.

In

In all Governments they are allowed a Predicant, and in Batavia 2 or 3 to spare, in case of mortalities. In all Directions they have Dominees, only to read the scriptures, and printed forms of prayer, Mornings, Evenings and Sundays.

The profession of the merchant, (or, as they commonly term it, the pen) has the preference of all others; and he that is an Upper-Copeman, in that quality, precedes all others, whether preachers, soldiers or seamen.

Dienstjahre und Avancement.

In all qualities, from Under-Assistant to Upper-Copeman, they generally serve five years, and some but three, as they agree; which term being expired, if they please, they may quit the service; but they are usually continued, and upon their petitions. If they are deserving, they are often preferred from one degree to another, though they have not served six months in a station.

When Directions or Governments fall vacant, an Upper-Copeman, capable of being made Governor, Directore or Commandore, generally succeeds; and some have been fifteen or twenty years Upper-Copeman before they have been put into any of those places.

Gouvernements und Direktionen. General-Gouvernement und Rath von Indien, zu BATAVIA.

Their whole business in India is divided into Governments and Directions. Governments are when the places are their own. Directions are when they are under a foreign prin-

prince, and have no garrisons. Batavia excepted no Government, Direction or command has precedence of place; but the persons in those places, and all other degrees and qualities, take place according to their seniority in standing.

BATAVIA is the chief and capital place, where resides the Governor General, and Council Ordinary of India, to whom all other Governments and Directions are subordinate, sending their accounts to them; the balance whereof is entered into the Accounts General of India, kept there.

The first Ordinary Council of India is chosen by the *Bewindhebbers*, out of such of their servants, as have served the Company as Governors or Directores, and none under those qualities. By which means their Head Council consists of men of estates and experience in the business of all parts of India.

The Extraordinary Council are also nominated by the *Bewindhebbers*, and three of them are allways to reside at Batavia. All of the Ordinary Council are to reside there likewise, and not to remove from thence, but upon business of great importance: and the General and Directore General are not to remove upon any occasion whatsoever.

Every one of the Ordinary Council of India, has his particular charges and employments allotted to him, wherein he is most experienced, viz. One is ordered to read, examine and answer all letters and papers from the government of Ceylon; another the letters etc. of the government of Amboina, Banda and Ternate; another the coast of Co-roman.

romandel, and bay of Bengal; another the Directorship of Surat and Persia; and another the Cape. The General only writes letters to the Company in Europe.

The Directore General has the most laborious employment, having the care of all ships, goods, treasure and stores, and proposes all voyages and cargoes. The secretary of the Council at Batavia is a person of great ability and experience of the quality of Upper-Copeman; he takes place next to the Extraordinary Council, and has the pay and allowance of a Commandore.

Besides BATAVIA, there are several places immediately under the government and direction of the Governor and Council of Batavia, viz: Iapan, Tonqueen, Macassar, Siam, Bantam, Iapara, Iambee, Pullambam, Arrakan.

The other Governments and Directions are as follows.

AMBOINA, a Government, under which are certain islands, where they pay a yearly rent, not to suffer cloves ^{c)} or other spices to grow.

BANDA is a Government, and under it are several islands; to the natives of which they pay money yearly to destroy the spice.

TERNAT is a Government.

MALACCA is a Government.

CEYLON, a Government, where they have many factories, whose accounts are sent to Columbo, the principal place.

COCHEEN is a Government, and under it the Malabar coast.

POLL

c) Gewürz - Nelken.

POLICAT, a Government, under which are the Coast of Coromandel and Pegu.

BENGAL is a Direction, and under it all the factories in that bay: *Hugly* is the chief, from whence they send their accounts to Batavia.

SURAT, another Direction, under which are manufactories.

PERSIA, a Direction, the chief residence Gombroon, and under it are Isfahan and Bassora.

CAPE of GOOD-HOPE, a Government and under it the Mauritius.

B) IN EUROPA.

Von den sechs Kammern und dem Rath der Siebenzehner.

Let us see now what figure the East India Company make in Europe. And first to begin with them in Amsterdam, where they have two large stately palaces, one in the old city, and the other in the new; in that of the old part of the city they keep their court, and there sits the resident committee of the Company, where also they make the sales of the Company's goods. There for six years the grand council or *Assembly of the seventeen*, meet, who, after six years are expired assemble at Middelburg in Zeeland for two years, and then again return to Amsterdam.

Their palace, or magazine, in the new part of the city, which may more properly be called an arsenal, is a building so stately, that it looks more like a king's palace, than

a magazine for merchants. Here they build the ships, and here are all sorts of workhouses for the artificers that serve the Company.

These two houses, or magazines, do only belong unto the *Chamber of Amsterdam*, which is the most considerable of the six Chambers of which the Company is composed. The other five Chambers, who, according to their Quota, or stock in the Company, have the like houses and magazines, are those of *Zeeland*, *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Horne*, and *Enkhuyzen*.

The grand council of the Company is the *Assembly of the seventeen*, which are elected out of the several Chambers before named, that is, eight from Amsterdam, and four from Zeeland; Delft, Rotterdam, Horne and Enkhuyzen send one a piece, which makes sixteen, and the five lesser Chambers by turns choose the seventeenth. In the Chamber of Amsterdam there are twenty *Bewindhebbers* or Directors; and in the Chamber of Zeeland twelve. The next is Delft, which has seven *Bewindhebbers*. The other Chambers of Rotterdam, Horne and Enkhuyzen have likewise seven *Bewindhebbers* a piece.

These *Bewindhebbers* are chosen out of those Adventurers called the *High Participanten* or Proprietors of the Company. They generally chuse such as are rich, and men of parts and wisdom, most of them being of the magistracy of the country. No man is capable of being elect a *Bewindhebber*, who has not 1000*l.* stock in the Company.

In

In a word, this Grand Council of the Seventeen make laws for the governing the Company, both in India and Europe. It is they that appoint the days of sale, and what numbers of ships each Chamber must send to the Indies, and likewise order the building of ships, and all other grand concerns.

Lob der Holländisch - Ostindischen Compagnie.

This Company is worthily esteemed a wise, politic, deserving Company, sparing no cost to get good intelligence of affairs. They have their spies and correspondents in all the considerable trading parts of the world: they have been so industrious as to gain the spice trade ^{d)}, not only from the Venetians, Spaniards, Portugeze, French, Danes, and other European nations, but have also ingrossed all the spices, so that they sell spices to the Indians themselves. They are not backward ^{e)} in bestowing presents upon strangers that have obliged them, as I could instance in some of our own nation. They are also very charitable to the poor, giving them the thousandth Gilder of all the goods they sell. And to all the reformed ministers in Amsterdam they send spices at Christmas, to pray every sunday for the welfare and prosperity of the Company, which is, indeed, a buckler and defence for the commonwealth upon all urgent occasions.

The constitution of the Company is by an Octroy, or Charter, of the States General; by which they have sovereign power over their servants in the Indies as well as in

M 2

all

d) *Gewürzhandel*,

e) *schümic*.

all territories of the States-Generals Domi-
nions. This Company, therefore, is justly
said to be a commonwealth within a common-
wealth. They are said to have 30,000 Men
in constant pay, above 200 capital ships, be-
sides floops, ketches ^{f)} and yachts. This
Company has by their politic contrivances,
and sedulous industry possessed themselves of
many colonies formerly belonging unto the
Spaniards, Portugueze, and divers Indian
princes, and, as good Christians, have been
at great charge ^{g)} in planting the gospel ^{h)} in
many parts there, printing in the Indian lan-
guage bibles and prayer-books, and cate-
chisms, for the instruction of the Indians,
maintaining ministers and school-masters, to
inform those that are converted to the Chri-
stian faith.

^{f)} a ketch ein Schiff mit zwei Masten.

^{g)} sie haben sich viel kosten lassen.

^{h)} das Evangelium.

III.
Geschichte
des
Römischen Reichs
und
der Christlichen Kirche
seit
der Alleinherrschaft
CONSTANTIN'S des GROSSEN
bis
zum Tode *Julian's.*

III

Geschichte

Königlichen Reichs

der Katholischen Kirche

der Allgäuerischen

ANTHON'S des GROSSEN

zum Tode



Geschichte
der Alleinherrschaft
CONSTANTIN'S des GROSSEN.

Vorläufig von den Progressen der christlichen Religion; bis zu den Zeiten Constantins des Grossen.

While the Roman empire was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigour from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the Capitol.

There is the strongest reason to believe, that before the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, and in all the great cities of the empire; but the foundation of the several congregations, the numbers of the faithful who composed them, and their proportion to the unbelieving multitude, are now buried in obscurity, or disguised by fiction and declamation.

The progress of Christianity was not confined to the Roman empire; and according to the primitive fathers, who interpret facts by prophecy, the new religion, within a century after the death of its divine author, had already visited every part of the globe. It will, however, remain an undoubted fact, that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who afterwards subverted the Roman monarchy, were involved in the darkness of paganism; and that even the conversion of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Aethiopia, was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor.

The most favourable calculation will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union, seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase, served to render their actual strength more apparent and more formidable.

Verfahrungsart der Römischen Regierung gegen die Christen von den Zeiten des Nero, bis auf Constantin den Großen.

If we recollect the universal toleration of Polytheism, as it was invariably maintained by the faith of the people, the incredulity of philosophers, and the policy of the Roman senate and emperors, we are at a loss to discover what new offence the Christians had committed, what new provocation could exasperate

rate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new motives could urge the Roman princes, who beheld without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe punishment on any part of their subjects, who had chosen for themselves a singular but an inoffensive mode of faith and worship.

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character, to oppose the progress of Christianity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the conduct of the emperors who appeared the least favourable to the primitive church, is by no means so criminal as that of modern sovereigns, who have employed the arm of violence and terror against the religious opinions of any part of their subjects. During a long period we cannot discover any traces of Roman intolerance, unless they are to be found in the sudden, the transient, but the cruel persecution, which was exercised by Nero against the Christians of the Capital.

The church has branded the cruelty of Domitian with the name of the second persecution. But this persecution (if it deserves that epithet) was of no long duration. — Under the reign of Trajan, the younger Pliny was intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. He soon found himself at a loss to determine by what rule of justice or of law he should direct his conduct in the execution of an office the most repugnant to his humanity. Pliny had never assisted at any judicial proceedings against the

Christians, with whose name alone he seems to be acquainted, and he was totally uninformed with regard to the nature of their guilt, the method of their conviction, and the degree of their punishment. In this perplexity he had recourse to his usual expedient, of submitting to the wisdom of Trajan an impartial, and in some respects, a favourable, account of the new superstition, requesting the emperor, that he would condescend to resolve his doubts, and to instruct his ignorance. The answer of Trajan, to which the Christians of the succeeding age have frequently appealed, discovers as much regard for justice and humanity as could be reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy.

The total disregard of truth and probability in the representation of the primitive martyrdoms was occasioned by a very natural mistake. The ecclesiastical writers of the fourth or fifth centuries ascribed to the magistrates of Rome the same degree of implacable and unrelenting zeal which filled their own breasts against the heretics or the idolaters of their own times. The authority of the learned Origen, who declares, in the most express terms, that the number of martyrs was very inconsiderable, would alone be sufficient to annihilate that formidable army of martyrs, whose relics, drawn for the most part from the catacombs of Rome, have replenished so many churches, and whose marvellous achievements have been the subject of so many volumes of Holy Romance. But the general assertion of Origen may be explained and confirmed by the particular

cular testimony of his friend Dionysius, who, in the immense city of Alexandria, and under the rigorous persecution of Decius, reckons only ten men and seven women who suffered for the profession of the Christian name.

During the same period of persecution, the zealous, the eloquent, the ambitious Cyprian governed the church, not only of Carthage, but even of Africa. He possessed every quality which could engage the reverence of the faithful, or provoke the suspicions and resentment of the Pagan magistrates. His character as well as his station seemed to mark out that holy prelate as the most distinguished object of envy and of danger. The experience, however, of the life of Cyprian, is sufficient to prove, that our fancy has exaggerated the perilous situation of a Christian bishop; and that the dangers to which he was exposed were less imminent than those which temporal ambition is always prepared to encounter in the pursuit of honours.

The celebrated number of *ten* persecutions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century. The ingenious parallels of the *ten* plagues of Egypt, and of the *ten* horns of the Apocalypse, first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their application of the faith of prophecy to the truth of history, they were careful to select those reigns which were indeed the most hostile to the Christian cause. But these transient persecutions served only to revive the zeal, and to restore the discipline of the faithful: and the moments of extraordinary rigour were compensated by much longer inter-

tervals of peace and security. The indifference of some princes, and the indulgence of others, permitted the Christians to enjoy, though not perhaps a legal, yet an actual and public, toleration of their religion.

The corruption of manners and principles, so forcibly lamented by Eusebius, may be considered, not only as a consequence, but as a proof, of the liberty, which the Christians enjoyed and abused under the reign of Diocletian. Prosperity had relaxed the nerves of discipline. Fraud, envy, and malice, prevailed in every congregation. The presbyters aspired to the episcopal office, which every day became an object more worthy of their ambition. The bishops, who contended with each other for ecclesiastical pre-eminence, appeared by their conduct to claim a secular and tyrannical power in the church; and the lively faith which still distinguished the Christians from the Gentiles, was shewn much less in their lives, than in their controversial writings.

Notwithstanding this seeming security, an attentive observer might discern some symptoms that threatened the church with a more violent persecution than any which she had yet endured. The zeal and rapid progress of the Christians awakened the Polytheists from their supine indifference in the cause of those deities, whom custom and education had taught them to revere. The prevailing sect of the new Platonicians judged it prudent to connect themselves with the priests, whom perhaps they despised, against the Christians, whom they had reason to fear. These fashionable

nable philosophers prosecuted the design of extracting allegorical wisdom from the fictions of the Greek poets; instituted mysterious rites of devotion for the use of their chosen disciples; recommended the worship of the ancient gods as the emblems or ministers of the Supreme Deity, and composed against the faith of the gospel many elaborate treatises, which have since been committed to the flames by the prudence of orthodox emperors.

Von der zehnten Christenverfolgung insbesondere.

Although the policy of Diocletian and the humanity of Constantius inclined them to preserve inviolate the maxims of toleration, it was soon discovered that their two associates, Maximian and Galerius, entertained the most implacable aversion for the name and religion of the Christians. After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and the reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian in the palace of Nicodemia; and the fate of Christianity became the object of their secret consultations.

Though we may suspect, it is not in our power to relate, the secret intrigues of the palace, the private views and resentments, the jealousy of women or eunuchs, and all those trifling but decisive causes which so often influence the fate of empires, and the counsels of the wisest monarchs. In short, the pleasure of the emperors was at length signified to the Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winter, had expected, with anxiety, the result of so many secret consultations.

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Though Diocletian, still averse to the effusion of blood, had moderated the fury of Galerius, who proposed, that every one refusing to offer sacrifice, should immediately be burnt alive, the penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might be deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. Transported at length beyond the bounds of moderation, which he had hitherto preserved, Diocletian himself declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his intention of abolishing the Christian name. But he had no sooner published these edicts, than, as if he had been desirous of committing to other hands the work of persecution, he divested himself of the Imperial purple. The character and situation of his colleagues and successors sometimes urged them to enforce, and sometimes inclined them to suspend, the execution of these rigorous laws; nor can we acquire a just and distinct idea of this important period of ecclesiastical history, unless we separately consider the state of Christianity, in the different parts of the empire, during the space of ten years, which elapsed between the first edicts of Diocletian, and the final peace of the church.

The mild and humane temper of Constantius was averse to the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offices of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved their persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislike to their religious principles. But as long as Constantius remained in the subordinate station of Caesar, it was not in his power openly to reject the edicts of Diocletian, or to disobey the
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commands of Maximian. His authority contributed, however, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorred. He consented, with reluctance, to the ruin of the churches; but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the populace, and from the rigour of the laws. The elevation of Constantius to the supreme and independent dignity of Augustus, gave a free scope to the exercise of his virtues, and the shortness of his reign did not prevent him from establishing a system of toleration, of which he left the precept and the example to his son Constantine. His fortunate son, from the first moment of his accession, declaring himself the protector of the church, at length deserved the appellation of the first emperor, who publicly professed and established the Christian religion.

Bekehrung Constantin's des Großen.

The public establishment of Christianity may be considered as one of those important and domestic revolutions which excite the most lively curiosity, and afford the most valuable instruction. The victories and the civil policy of Constantine no longer influence the state of Europe; but a considerable portion of the globe still retains the impression which it received from the conversion of that monarch; and the ecclesiastical institutions of his reign are still connected, by an indissoluble chain, with the opinions, the passions, and the interests of the present generation.

In the consideration of a subject which may be examined with impartiality, but cannot

not be viewed with indifference, a difficulty immediately arises of a very unexpected nature; that of ascertaining the real and precise date of the conversion of Constantine. The eloquent Lactantius, in the midst of his court, seems impatient to proclaim to the world the glorious example of the sovereign of Gaul, who, in the first moments of his reign, acknowledged and adored the majesty of the true and only God. The learned Eusebius has ascribed the faith of Constantine to the miraculous sign which was displayed in the heavens whilst he meditated and prepared the Italian expedition. The historian Zosimus maliciously asserts, that the emperor had embued his hands in the blood of his eldest son, before he publicly renounced the gods of Rome and of his ancestors. The perplexity produced by these discordant authorities, is derived from the behaviour of Constantine himself. According to the strictness of ecclesiastical language, the first of the *Christian* emperors was unworthy of that name, till the moment of his death; since it was, only during his last illness that he received as a catechumen, the imposition of hands; and was afterwards admitted by the initiatory rites of baptism, into the number of the faithful. The Christianity of Constantine must be allowed in a much more vague and qualified sense; and the nicest accuracy is required in tracing the slow and almost imperceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himself the protector, and at length the proselyte, of the church.

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As long as Constantine exercised a limited sovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince, who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honour. If we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself he had been an indignant spectator of the savage cruelties which were inflicted, by the hands of Roman soldiers, on those citizens whose religion was their only crime. In the East and in the West, he had seen the different effects of severity and indulgence; and as the former was rendered still more odious by the example of Galerius, his implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The son of Constantius immediately suspended or repeated the edicts of persecution, and granted the free exercise of their religious ceremonies to all those who had already professed themselves members of the church. They were soon encouraged to depend on the favour as well as on the justice of their sovereign, who had imbibed a secret and sincere reverence for the name of Christ, and for the God of the Christians.

About five months after the conquest of Italy, the emperor made a solemn and authentic declaration of his sentiments, by the celebrated edict of Milan, which restored peace to the Catholic church. In the personal interview of the two western princes, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague Licinius; the union of their names

and authority disarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the East, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.

The tragic deaths of Galerius and Maximin gratified the resentment, and fulfilled the sanguine expectations, of the Christians. The success of Constantine against Maxentius and Licinius, removed the two formidable competitors who still opposed the triumph of the second David, and his cause might seem to claim the peculiar interposition of Providence. The piety of Constantine was admitted as an unexceptionable proof of the justice of his arms; and his use of victory confirmed the opinion of the Christians, that their hero was inspired, and conducted, by the Lord of Hosts. The conquest of Italy produced a general edict of toleration: and as soon as the defeat of Licinius had invested Constantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his subjects to imitate, without delay, the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity.

The enemies of Constantine have imputed to interested motives the alliance which he insensibly contracted with the Catholic church, and which apparently contributed to the success of his ambition. The enthusiasm which inspired the troops, and perhaps the emperor himself, had sharpened their swords while it satisfied their conscience. They marched to battle with the full assurance, that the same God, who had formerly opened a
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passage to the Israelites through the waters of Jordan, and had thrown down the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpets of Ioshua, would display his visible majesty and power in the victory of Constantine. The evidence of ecclesiastical history is prepared to affirm, that their expectations were justified by the conspicuous miracle to which the conversion of the first Christian emperor has been almost unanimously ascribed. As the real or imaginary cause of so important an event, deserves and demands the attention of posterity, Mr. Gibbon, has endeavoured ⁱ⁾ to form a just estimate of the famous vision of Constantine, by a distinct consideration of the *standard*, the *dream*, and the *celestial sign*; by separating the historical, the natural, and the marvellous parts of this extraordinary story, which, in the composition of a specious argument, have been artfully-confounded in one splendid and brittle ^{k)} mass.

Erbaunung von Constantinopel.

After the defeat and abdication of Licinius, his victorious rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city, destined to reign, in future times, the mistress of the East, and to survive the empire and religion of Constantine. The motives, whether of pride or of policy, which first induced Diocletian to withdraw himself from the ancient seat of government, had acquired additional weight by the

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i) in the 20th Chapter of his Work.

k) zerbrechlich.

example of his successors, and the habits of forty years. Rome was insensibly confounded with the dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her supremacy; and the country of Caesars was viewed with cold indifference by a martial prince, born in the neighbourhood of the Danube, educated in the courts and armies of Asia, and invested with the purple by the legions of Britain. The Italians, who had received Constantine as their deliverer, submissively obeyed the edicts which he sometimes condescended to address to the senate and people of Rome; but they were seldom honoured with the presence of their own sovereign. During the vigour of his age, Constantine, according to the various exigencies of peace and war, moved with slow dignity, or with active diligence, along the frontiers of his extensive dominions; and was always prepared to take the field either against a foreign or a domestic enemy. But as he gradually reached the summit of prosperity and the decline of life, he began to meditate the design of fixing in a more permanent station the strength as well as majesty of the throne. In the choice of an advantageous situation, he preferred the confines of Europe and Asia; to curb ¹⁾, with a powerful arm, the barbarians who dwelt between the Danube and the Tanais; to watch with an eye of jealousy the conduct of the Persian monarch, who indignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With these views, Diocletian had selected and embellished the residence of Nicomedia: but

1) Zäumen, im Zaum halten.

but the memory of Diocletian was justly abhorred by the protector of the church; and Constantine was not insensible to the ambition of founding a city which might perpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late operations of the war against Licinius, he had sufficient opportunity to contemplate, both as a soldier and as a statesman, the incomparable position of Byzantium; and to observe how strongly it was guarded by nature against an hostile attack, whilst it was accessible on every side to the benefits of commercial intercourse.

The prospect of beauty, of safety, and of wealth, united in a single spot, was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine. But as some decent mixture of prodigy and fable has, in every age, been supposed to reflect a becoming majesty on the origin of great cities, the emperor was desirous of ascribing his resolution, not so much to the uncertain counsels of human policy, as to the infallible and eternal decrees of divine wisdom. In one of his laws he has been careful to instruct posterity, that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople: and though he has not condescended to relate in what manner the coelestial inspiration was communicated to his mind, the defect of his modest silence has been liberally supplied by the ingenuity of succeeding writers; who describe the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fancy of Constantine as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. The tutelar genius of the city, a venerable matron sinking under the weight of years and

infirmities, was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid, whom his own hands adorned with all the symbols of Imperial greatness. The monarch awoke, interpreted the auspicious omen, and obeyed, without hesitation, the will of heaven.

The master of the Roman world, who aspired to erect an eternal monument of the glories of his reign, could employ in the persecution of that great work the wealth, the labour, and all that yet remained of the genius of obedient millions. Some estimate may be formed of the expence bestowed with Imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople, by the allowance of about two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of the walls, the porticoes and the aqueducts. The forests that overshadowed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries ^{m)} of white marble in the little island of Proconnesus, supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a short water-carriage, to the harbour of Byzantium. A multitude of labourers and artificers urged the conclusion of the work with incessant toil: but the impatience of Constantine soon discovered, that, in the decline of the arts, the skill as well as numbers of his architects bore a very unequal proportion to the greatness of his designs. The magistrates of the most distant provinces were therefore directed to institute schools, to appoint professors, and, by the hopes of rewards and privileges, to engage in the study and practice of architecture

^{m)} *Steinbrüche.*

ecture a sufficient number of ingenious youths, who had received a liberal education. The buildings of the new city were executed by such artificers as the reign of Constantine could afford; but they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Lysippus, surpassed indeed the power of a Roman emperor; but the immortal productions which they had bequeathed ⁿ⁾ to posterity were exposed without defence to the rapacious vanity of a despot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments. The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the most finished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople; and gave occasion to the remark of the historian Cedrenus, who observes, with some enthusiasm, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom those admirable monuments were intended to represent.

Bevölkerung der neuen Hauptstadt.

The populousness of this favoured city was the next and most serious object of the attention of its founder. In the dark ages which succeeded the translation of the empire, the remote and the immediate consequences of that memorable event were strangely confounded by the vanity of the Greeks, and the credulity of the Latins. It was asser-

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ted, and believed, that all the noble families of Rome, the senate, and the equestrian order with their innumerable attendants, had followed their emperor to the banks of the Propontis; that a spurious race of strangers and plebeians was left to possess the solitude of the ancient capital; and that the lands of Italy, long since converted into gardens, were at once deprived of cultivation and inhabitants. In the course of this history, such exaggerations will be reduced to their just value: yet, since the growth of Constantinople cannot be ascribed to the general increase of mankind and of industry, it must be admitted, that this artificial colony was raised at the expence of the ancient cities of the empire. Many opulent senators of Rome, and of the Eastern provinces, were probably invited by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his own residence. The invitations of a master are scarcely to be distinguished from commands; and the liberality of the emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience.

In less than a century, Constantinople disputed with Rome itself the pre-eminence of riches and numbers. New piles of buildings, crowded together with too little regard to health or convenience, scarcely allowed the intervals of narrow streets for the perpetual throng of men, of horses, and of carriages. The allotted space of ground was insufficient to contain the increasing people; and the additional foundations, which, on either side, were advanced into the sea, might alone have composed a very considerable city.

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Neue Regierungsform.

The foundation of a new capital was connected with the establishment of a new form of civil and military administration; and the simplicity of Roman manners was insensibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of Asia. The distinctions of personal merit and influence, so conspicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a monarchy, were abolished by the despotism of the emperors; who substituted in their room a severe subordination of rank and office, from the titled slaves who were seated on the steps of the throne, to the meanest instruments of arbitrary power. This multitude of abject dependents was interested in the support of the actual government, from the dread of a revolution, which might at once confound their hopes, and intercept the reward of their services. In this divine hierarchy (for such it is frequently styled) every rank was marked with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dignity was displayed in a variety of trifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn, and a sacrilege to neglect. The purity of the Latin language was debased, by adopting, in the intercourse of pride and flattery, a profusion of epithets, which Tully would scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would have rejected with indignation. The principal officers of the empire were saluted, even by the sovereign himself, with the deceitful titles of your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminence*, your *sublime and wonderfull Magnitude*, your *illustrious and magnificent Highness*. The

codicils or patents of their office were curiously emblazoned ^{o)} with such emblems ^{p)} as were best adapted to explain its nature and high dignity; the image or portrait of the reigning emperors; a triumphal car; the book of mandates placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and illuminated by four tapers ^{q)}; the allegorical figures of the provinces which they governed; or the appellations and standards of the troops whom they commanded. Some of these official ensigns were really exhibited in their hall of audience; others preceded their pompous march whenever they appeared in public; and every circumstance of their demeanour, their dress, their ornaments, and their train, was calculated to inspire a deep reverence for the representatives of supreme majesty. By a philosophic observer, the system of the Roman government might have been mistaken for a splendid theatre, filled with players of every character and degree, who repeated the language, and imitated the passions of their original model.

All the magistrates of sufficient importance to find a place in the general state of the empire, were accurately divided into three classes. 1. The *Illustrious*. 2. The *Specitabiles*, or *Respectable*: and 3. The *Clarissimi*; whom we may translate by the word *Honourable*. In the times of Roman simplicity, the last-mentioned epithet was used only as a vague expression of deference, till it became at length the peculiar and appropriated title of

^{o)} *ausgemahlt.*
^{q)} *Wachskerzen.*

^{p)} *Sinnbilder.*

of all who were members of the senate, and consequently of all who, from that venerable body were selected to govern the provinces. The vanity of those who, from their rank and office, might claim a superior distinction above the rest of the senatorial order, was long afterwards indulged with the new appellation of *Respectable*: but the title of *Illustrious* was always reserved to some eminent personages who were obeyed or revered by the two subordinate classes.

The consuls and patricians saw their ancient greatness evaporate in a vain title. On the contrary, the Praetorian praefects ^{r)}, rising by degrees from the most humble condition, were invested with the civil and military administration of the Roman world. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the guards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and the provinces, were intrusted to their superintending care; and, like the Vizirs of the East, they held with one hand the seal, and with the other the standard, of the empire. The ambition of the praefects, always formidable, and sometimes fatal to the masters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the Praetorian bands; but after those haughty troops had been weakened by Diocletian, and finally suppressed by Constantine, the praefects, who survived their fall, were reduced without difficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When they were no longer responsible for the safety of the emperor's person, they resigned the jurisdiction which they had hitherto claimed

r) Praefecti praetorio. Obersten der Leibwache.

med and exercised over all the departments of the palace. They were deprived by Constantine of all military command as soon as they had ceased to lead into the field, under their immediate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and at length, by a singular revolution, the captains of the guards were transformed into the civil magistrates of the provinces.

According to the plan of government instituted by Diocletian, the four princes had each their Praetorian praefect; and, after the monarchy was once more united in the person of Constantine, he still continued to create the same number of **FOUR PRAEFECTS**, and entrusted to their care the same provinces which they already administered.

From their superior importance and dignity, Rome and Constantinople were alone excepted from the jurisdiction of the Praetorian praefects. The immense size of the city, and the experience of the tardy, ineffectual operation of the laws, had furnished the policy of Augustus with a specious pretence for introducing a new magistrate, who, after the office of Roman consuls had been changed into a vain pageant ^{s)}, assumed their vacant place in the senate. About thirty years after the foundation of Constantinople, a similar magistrate was created in that rising metropolis, for the same uses, and with the same powers. A perfect equality was established between the dignity of the *two* municipal, and that of the *four* praetorian, praefects.

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s) *Schangeprünge*.

Those who, in the Imperial hierarchy, were distinguished by the title of *Respectable*, formed an intermediate class between the *illustrious* praefects and the *honourable* magistrates of the provinces. In this class, the proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, claimed a pre-eminence, which was yielded to the remembrance of their ancient dignity, and the appeal from their tribunal to that of the praefects was almost the only mark of their dependence. But the civil government of the empire was distributed into thirteen great **DIOCESES**, each of which equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom. The first of these dioceses was subject to the jurisdiction of the *count* of the east; and we may convey some idea of the importance and variety of his functions, by observing, that six hundred *apparitors* were employed in his immediate office. The place of *Augustal praefect* of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight; but the name was retained; and the extraordinary powers which the situation of the country, and the temper of the inhabitants, had once made indispensable, was still continued to the governor. The eleven remaining dioceses, of *Asiana*, *Pontica*, and *Thrace*; of *Macedonia*, *Dacia*, and *Pannonia* or Western Illyricum; of *Italy* and *Africa*; of *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, were governed by twelve *vicars*, or *vice-praefects*, whose name sufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office.

As the spirit of jealousy and ostentation prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to di-
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vide the substance, and to multiply the titles of power. The vast countries which the Roman conquerors had united under the same simple form of administration, were imperceptibly crumbled ^{t)} into minute fragments; till at length the whole empire was distributed into one hundred and sixteen provinces, each of which supported an expensive and splendid establishment.

From the time of Commodus to the reign of Constantine near one hundred governors might be enumerated, who, with various success, erected the standard of revolt; and though the innocent were too often sacrificed, the guilty might be sometimes prevented, by the suspicious cruelty of their master. To secure his throne and the public tranquillity from these formidable servants, Constantine resolved to divide the military from the civil administration; and to establish, as a permanent and professional distinction, a practice which had been adopted only as an occasional expedient. The supreme jurisdiction exercised by the Praetorian praefect over the armies of the empire, was transferred to the two *masters general* whom he instituted, the one for the *cavalry*; the other for the *infantry*; and though each of these *illustrious* officers was more peculiarly responsible for the discipline of those troops which were under his immediate inspection, they both indifferently commanded in the field the several bodies, whether of horse or foot, which were united in the same army. Their number was soon doubled by the division of the east and west;

t) *versplittert*.

west; and as separate generals of the same rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight masters general of the cavalry and infantry. Under their orders, thirty-five military commanders were stationed in the provinces: three in Britain, six in Gaul, one in Spain, one in Italy, five on the Upper, and four on the Lower Danube; in Asia eight, three in Egypt, and four in Africa. The titles of *counts*, and *dukes*, by which they were properly distinguished, have obtained in modern languages a very different sense.

In the various states of society, armies are recruited from very different motives. Barbarians are urged by the love of war; the citizens of a free republic may be prompted by a principle of duty; the subjects, or at least the nobles of a monarchy, are animated by a sentiment of honour; but the timid and luxurious inhabitants of a declining empire must be allured into the service by the hopes of profit, or compelled by the dread of punishment. The resources of the Roman treasury were exhausted by the encrease of pay, by the repetition of donatives, and by the invention of new emoluments and indulgences, which, in the opinion of the provincial youth, might compensate the hardships and dangers of a military life. However, such was the horror for the profession of a soldier, which had affected the minds of the degenerate Romans, that many of the youth of Italy, and the provinces, chose to cut off the

the fingers of their right hand to escape from being pressed into the service; and this strange expedient was so commonly practised, as to deserve the severe animadversion of the laws, and a peculiar name in the Latin language.

The introduction of Barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more universal, more necessary, and more fatal. The most daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, who delighted in war, and who found it more profitable to defend than to ravage the provinces, were enrolled, not only in the auxiliaries of their respective nations, but in the legions themselves, and among the most distinguished of the Palatine troops. As they freely mingled with the subjects of the empire, they gradually learned to despise their manners, and to imitate their arts. The Barbarian soldiers who displayed any military talents, were advanced, without exception, to the most important commands; and the names of the tribunes, of the counts and dukes, and of the generals themselves, betray a foreign origin, which they no longer condescended to disguise. They were often entrusted with the conduct of a war against their countrymen; and though most of them preferred the ties ^{u)} of allegiance to those of blood, they did not always avoid the guilt, or at least the suspicion, of holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, of inviting his invasion, or of sparing his retreat. The camps and the palace of the son of Constantine, were governed by the

^{u)} *Bande.*

the powerful faction of the Franks, who preserved the strictest connection with each other, and with their country, and who resented every personal affront as a national indignity. When the tyrant Caligula was suspected of an intention to invest a very extraordinary candidate with the consular robes, the sacrilegious profanation would have scarcely excited less astonishment, if, instead of a horse, the noblest chieftain of Germany or Britain had been the object of his choice. The revolution of three centuries had produced so remarkable a change in the prejudices of the people, that, with the public approbation, Constantine shewed his successors the example of bestowing the honours of the consulship on the barbarians, who, by their merit and services, had deserved to be ranked among the first of the Romans.

Besides the magistrates and generals, who at a distance from the court diffused their delegated authority over the provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of *Illustrious* on seven of his more immediate servants, to whose fidelity he entrusted his safety, or his counsels, or his treasures. The private apartments of the palace were governed by a favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was styled the *praepositus* or praefect of the sacred bed-chamber. His duty was to attend the emperor in his hours of state, or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial ^{x)} services, which can only derive their splendor from

x) geringfügige.

from the influence of royalty.' Under a prince who deserved to reign, the great chamberlain (for such we may call him) was an useful and humble domestic; but an artful domestic, who improves every occasion of unguarded confidence, will insensibly acquire over a feeble mind that ascendant which harsh y) wisdom and uncomplying virtue can seldom obtain. The degenerate grandsons of Theodosius, who were invisible to their subjects, and contemptible to their enemies, exalted the praefects of their bed-chamber above the heads of all the ministers of the palace; and even his deputy, the first of the splendid train of slaves who waited in the presence, was thought worthy to rank before the *respectable* proconsuls of Greece or Asia.

A people elated by pride, or soured z) by discontent, are seldom qualified to form a just estimate of their actual situation. The subjects of Constantine were incapable of discerning the decline of genius and manly virtue, which so far degraded them below the dignity of their ancestors; but they could feel and lament the rage of tyranny, the relaxation of discipline, and the encrease of taxes. The impartial historian, who acknowledges the justice of their complaints, will observe some favourable circumstances which tended to alleviate the misery of their condition. The threatening tempest of Barbarians, which so soon subverted the foundations of Roman greatness, was still repelled, or suspended, on the frontiers. The arts of luxury and literature were cultivated, and the ele-

y) *rauh*.z) *erbittert*.

elegant pleasures of society were enjoyed by the inhabitants of a considerable portion of the globe. The forms, the pomp, and the expence of the civil administration contributed to restrain the irregular licence of the soldiers; and although the laws were violated by power, or perverted by subtlety, the sage principles of the Roman jurisprudence preserved a sense of order and equity, unknown to the despotic governments of the east. The rights of mankind might derive some protection from religion and philosophy; and the name of freedom, which could no longer alarm, might sometimes admonish, the successors of Augustus that they did not reign over a nation of Slaves or Barbarians.

*Von dem Character Constantin's des Großen.
Fortsetzung seiner Regierungsgeschichte.*

The character of a prince who removed the seat of empire, and introduced such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weakness, dishonoured the Imperial purple. The vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities, would produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights, by a

careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine, the conclusion of which degraded him from the rank he had acquired among the most deserving of the Roman princes.

In the life of Augustus, we behold the tyrant of the republic, converted, almost by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country and of human kind. In that of Constantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest, above the necessity of dissimulation. The general peace which he maintained during the last fourteen years of his reign, (323 — 337) was a period of apparent splendor rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcileable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he chose to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind.

An impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which sullied ^{a)} the declining age of Constantine, suggests the idea of a prince, who could sacrifice without reluctance the laws of justice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest.

Merk.

a) beslechten, beschimpfen.

Merkwürdigkeiten aus dem Privatleben Constantin's des Großen.

The same fortune which so invariably followed the standard of Constantine, seemed to secure the hopes and comforts of his domestic life. Besides the females, and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. But in less than thirty years, this numerous and encreasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantius and Julian, who alone survived a series of crimes and calamities, such as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted line of Pelops and of Cadmus.

Crispus the eldest son of Constantine, and the presumptive heir of the empire, is represented by impartial historians as an amiable and accomplished youth. At the age of seventeen, he was invested with the title of Caesar, and the administration of the Gallic provinces, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occasion of signalizing his military prowess^b). In the civil war which broke out soon afterwards, the father and son divided their powers, and the latter displayed his valour in forcing the streights of the Hellespont. The dangerous merits of Crispus soon excited the attention of Constantine, who, both as a father and as a king, was impatient of an equal. Instead of attempting to

O 3

secure

ob) Muth, Tapferkeit.

secure the allegiance of his son, by the generous ties of confidence and gratitude, he resolved to prevent the mischiefs which might be apprehended from dissatisfied ambition. Under such painful circumstances, the royal youth might not always be able to compose his behaviour, or suppress his discontent; and we may be assured, that he was encompassed by a train of indiscreet or perfidious followers, who assiduously studied to inflame, and who were perhaps instructed to betray, the unguarded warmth of his resentment.

A. D. 325. An edict of Constantine published about this time, manifestly indicates his real or affected suspicions, that a secret conspiracy had been formed against his person and government.

The time was now arrived for celebrating the august ceremony of the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine; and the emperor, for that purpose, removed his court from Nicomedia to Rome, where the most splendid preparations had been made for his reception. Every eye, and every tongue, affected to express their sense of the general happiness, and the veil of ceremony and dissimulation was drawn from a while over the darkest designs of revenge and murder. In the midst of the festival, the unfortunate Crispus was apprehended by order of the emperor, who laid aside the tenderness of a father, without assuming the equity of a judge. The examination was short and private; and as it was thought decent to conceal the fate of the young prince from the eyes of the Roman people, he was sent under a strong guard to

tot Pola, in Istria, where, soon afterwards, he was put to death, either by the hand of the executioner, or by the more gentle operation of poison.

The innocence of Crispus was so universally acknowledged, that the modern Greeks, who adore the memory of their founder, are reduced to palliate ^{c)} the guilt of a parricide, which the common feelings of human nature forbade them to justify. If we consult the more ancient and authentic writers, they will inform us, that Constantine atoned for the murder of an innocent son by the execution, perhaps, of a guilty wife. They ascribe the misfortunes of Crispus to the arts of his step-mother Fausta, whose implacable hatred, or whose disappointed love, renewed in the palace of Constantine the ancient tragedy of Hippolytus and of Phaedra.

By the death of Crispus, the inheritance of the empire seemed to devolve on the three sons of Fausta, Constantine, Constantius and Constans. These young princes were successively invested with the title of Caesar; and the dates of their promotion may be referred to the tenth, the twentieth, and the thirtieth years of the reign of their father. This conduct, though it tended to multiply the future masters of the Roman world, might be excused by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not easy to understand the motives of the emperor, when he endangered the safety both of his family and of his people, by the unnecessary elevation of his two nephews. Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former

O 4

was

c) bemänteln.

was raised, by the title of Caesar, to an equality with his cousins. In favour of the latter, Constantine invented the new and singular appellation of *Nobilissimus*; to which he annexed the flattering distinction of a robe of purple and gold.

The whole empire was deeply interested in the education of these five youths, the acknowledged successors of Constantine, whose indulgence admitted them, at a very tender age, to share the administration of the empire. As they advanced in years and experience, the limits of their authority were insensibly enlarged: but the emperor always reserved for himself the title of Augustus; and while he shewed the *Caesars* to the armies and provinces, he maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to its supreme head. The tranquillity of the last fourteen years of his reign was scarcely interrupted by the contemptible insurrection of a camel-driver in the island of Cyprus, or by the active part which the policy of Constantine engaged him to assume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmatians.

Beschluss der Regierungsgeschichte Constantin's des Großen.

By chastising the pride of the Goths, and by accepting the homage of a suppliant nation ^{d)}, Constantine asserted the majesty of the

- d) According to the maxims adopted by Probus and his successors, the offers of a Barbarian colony had been eagerly accepted, and a competent portion of lands in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia and Italy had been assigned for the habitation and subsistence of 200,000 *Sarmatians*.

the Roman empire; and the ambassadors of Aethiopia, Persia, and the most remote countries of India, congratulated the peace and prosperity of his government. If he reckoned, among the favours of fortune, the death of his eldest son, and perhaps of his wife, he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity, till the thirtieth year of his reign; a period which none of his predecessors, since Augustus, had been permitted, to celebrate. Constantine survived that solemn festival about ten months; and, at the mature age of sixty-four, after a short illness, he ended his memorable life at Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, and with the hope of recruiting his exhausted strength by the use of warm baths.



Constantin der Jüngere,
 C O N S T A N T I U S
 u n d
 C O N S T A N S.

Mörderische Auftritte nach dem Tode Constantin's des Großen.

The voice of the dying emperor had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of *Constantius*; and that prince, by the vicinity of his eastern station, could easily prevent the diligence of his brothers, who resided in their distant government of Italy and Gaul. Soon after his arrival the spirit, and even the forms of legal proceedings were repeatedly violated in a promiscuous massacre, which involved the two uncles of *Constantius*, seven of his cousins, of whom *Dalmatius* and *Hannibalianus* were the most illustrious etc. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody scene, we might add, that *Constantius* himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle *Julius*, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin *Hannibalianus*.

The massacre of the *Flavian* race was succeeded by a new division of the provinces; which was ratified in a personal interview of the three brothers.

Per.

Persischer Krieg.

While the martial nations of Europe followed the standards of his brothers, Constantius, at the head of the effeminate troops of Asia, was left to sustain the weight of the Persian war. At the decease of Constantine, the throne of the east was filled by *Sapor*, son of *Hormisdas*, and grandson of *Narfes*, who after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confessed the superiority of the Roman power. The ambition of *Sapor*, to whom his enemies ascribe the virtues of a soldier and a statesman, was animated by the desire of revenging the disgrace of his fathers, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Constantine, and the real or apparent strength of his government, suspended the attack; and while the hostile conduct of *Sapor* provoked the resentment, his artful negotiations amused the patience of the Imperial court. The death of Constantine was the signal of war, and the actual condition of the Syrian and Armenian frontier, seemed to encourage the Persians by the prospect of a rich spoil, and an easy conquest. The example of the massacres of the palace, diffused a spirit of licentiousness and sedition among the troops of the east, who were no longer restrained by their habits of obedience to a veteran commander. By the prudence of Constantius, who, from the interview with his brothers in Pannonia, immediately hastened to the banks of the Euphrates, the legions were gradually restored to a sense of duty and discipline; but the season of anarchy had permitted-

mitted Sapor to form the siege of Nisibis, and to occupy several of the most important fortresses of Mesopotamia. In Armenia, the renowned *Tiridates* had long enjoyed the peace and glory which he deserved by his valour and fidelity to the cause of Rome. The firm alliance which he maintained with Constantine, was productive of spiritual as well as of temporal benefits: by the conversion of *Tiridates*, the character of a saint was applied to that of a hero, the Christian faith was preached and established from the Euphrates to the shores of the Caspian, and Armenia was attached to the empire by the double ties of policy and of religion.

The fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with *Tiridates*. His lawful heir was driven into exile, the Christian priests were either murdered or expelled from their churches, the barbarous tribes of Albania were solicited to descend from their mountains; and two of the most powerful governors, usurping the ensigns or the powers of royalty, implored the assistance of Sapor, and opened the gates of their cities to the Persian garri-sons. The Christian party had recourse to the piety of *Constantius*, and after the troubles had continued about three years, *Chosroes* the son of *Tiridates*, was restored to the throne of his fathers.

But the Romans derived more honour than advantage from this revolution. Unequal to the fatigues of war, averse to the society of mankind, *Chosroes* withdrew from his capital to a retired palace, which he had built on the banks of the river *Eleutherus*; and

and to secure his inglorious ease, he submitted to the conditions of peace which Sapor condescended to impose.

During the long period of the reign of Constantius, (337-360) the provinces of the east were afflicted by the calamities of the Persian war. The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris, and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Ctesiphon to those of Antioch; and this active service was performed by the Arabs of the desert, who were divided in their interest and affections; some of their independent chiefs being enlisted in the party of Sapor, whilst others had engaged their doubtful fidelity to the emperor. The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigour; and the armies of Rome and Persia encountered each other in nine bloody fields, in two of which Constantius himself commanded in person. The event of the day was most commonly adverse to the Romans. In the battle of *Singara*, their imprudent valour had almost achieved a signal and decisive victory; but the prudent Sapor watched the moment of victory, and the sincerity of history declares, that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter.

Belagerung der Stadt Nisibis.

Whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, though nine repeated victories diffused among the nations the fame of his valour and conduct, he could
not

not hope to succeed in the execution of his designs, while the fortified towns of Mesopotamia, and above all, the strong and ancient city of Nisibis, remained in the possession of the Romans. In the space of twelve years, Nisibis, which, since the time of Lucullus, had been deservedly esteemed the bulwark of the east sustained three memorable sieges against the power of Sapor; and the disappointed monarch was thrice repulsed with loss and ignominy.

Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes, and the loss of more than twenty thousand men, Sapor still pressed the reduction of Nisibis with an obstinate firmness, which could have yielded only to the necessity of defending the eastern provinces of Persia against a formidable invasion of the Massagetae. Alarmed by this intelligence, he hastily relinquished the siege, and marched with rapid diligence from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Oxus. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him soon afterwards to conclude, or at least to observe, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful to both princes; as Constantius himself, after the deaths of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolutions of the west, in a civil contest, which required and seemed to exceed the most vigorous exertion of his undivided strength.

*Schicksal Constantin's des jüngern, und
seines Bruders Constans, auf dem Römischen
Kaiserthron.*

After the partition of the empire, three years had scarcely elapsed, before the sons of Constantine seemed impatient to convince mankind that they were incapable of contenting themselves with the dominions which they were unqualified to govern. A. D. After a tedious and fruitless negociation, ^{340.} the eldest of those princes ^{e)}, at the head of a tumultuary band, suited for rapine rather than for conquest, suddenly broke into the dominions of *Constans*, by the way of the Julian Alps, and the country round Aquileia felt the first effects of his resentment. The measures of *Constans*, who then resided in Dacia, were directed with more prudence and ability. On the news of his brother's invasion, he detached a select and disciplined body of his Illyrian troops, proposing to follow them in person with the remainder of his forces. But the conduct of his lieutenants soon terminated the unnatural contest. By the artful appearances of flight, Constantine was betrayed into an ambuscade, which had been concealed in a wood, where the rash youth, with a few attendants, was surprised, surrounded, and slain. His body, after it had been found in the obscure stream of the Alsa obtained the honours of an Imperial sepulchre; but his provinces transferred their allegiance to the conqueror, who, refusing to admit his elder brother Constantius to any share

e) *Constantin der jüngere.*

share in these new acquisitions, maintained the undisputed possession of more than two-thirds of the Roman Empire.

The fate of Constans himself was delayed ^{f)} about ten years longer, and the revenge of his brother's death was reserved for the more ignoble hand of a domestic traitor. The pernicious tendency ^{g)} of the system introduced by Constantine, was displayed in the feeble administration of his sons; who, by their vices and weakness, soon lost the esteem and affections of their people. The pride assumed by Constans, from the unmerited success of his arms, was rendered more contemptible by his want of abilities and application. His fond partiality towards some German captives, distinguished only by the charms of youth, was an object of scandal to the people; and *Magnentius*, an ambitious soldier, who was himself of Barbarian extraction, was encouraged by the public discontent to assert the honour of the Roman name. He became master of the troops and treasure of the palace and city of *Autun*, where the court of Gaul then resided. By his secrecy and diligence, Magnentius entertained some hopes of surprising the person of Constans, who was pursuing in the adjacent forest his favourite amusement of hunting, or perhaps some pleasures of a more private and criminal nature. The rapid progress of fame allowed him, however, an instant for flight, though the desertion of his soldiers and subjects deprived him of the power of resistance. Before he could reach a sea-port in Spain, where

f) verzögert.

g) Absicht, Zweck, Folge.

where he intended to embark, he was overtaken near Helena, at the foot of the Pyrenees, by a party of light cavalry, whose chief, regardless of the sanctity of a temple, executed his commission by the murder of the son of Constantine. A. D. 350.

Constantius behauptet, nach dem Tode seiner Brüder, die Alleinherrschaft über das Römische Reich, wider die beiden Usurpateurs Magnentius und Vetranio

As soon as the death of Constans had decided the easy but important revolution, the example of the court of *Autun* was imitated by the provinces of the west. The authority of Magnentius was acknowledged through the whole extent of the two great praefectures of Gaul and Italy; and the usurper prepared, by every act of oppression, to collect a treasure, which might discharge the obligation of an immense donative, and supply the expences of a civil war.

The martial countries of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremity of Greece, had long obeyed the government of *Vetranio*, an aged general, beloved for the simplicity of his manners, and who had acquired some reputation by his experience and services in war. Attached by habit, by duty, and by gratitude, to the house of Constantine, he immediately gave the strongest assurances to the only surviving son of his late master, that he would expose, with unshaken fidelity, his person and his troops, to inflict a just revenge on the traitors of Gaul. But the legions of *Vetranio* were seduced, rather than provoked, by the

example of rebellion; their leader soon betrayed a want of firmness, or a want of sincerity; and his ambition derived a specious pretence from the approbation of the princess Constantina. That cruel and aspiring woman, who had obtained from the great Constantine her father the rank of *Augusta*, placed the diadem with her own hands on the head of the Illyrian general; and seemed to expect from his victory, the accomplishment of those unbounded hopes, of which she had been disappointed by the death of her husband Hannibalianus *). Perhaps it was without the consent of Constantina, that the new emperor formed a necessary, though dishonourable, alliance with the usurper of the west, whose purple was so recently stained with her brother's blood.

The intelligence of these important events, which so deeply affected the honour and safety

*) Zur Uebersicht der Familie Constantin's des Grossen dient, bei dieser Gelegenheit, folgende Tabelle:
Constantius Chlorus.

Constantin der Grosse, vermählt 1. mit Helena, 2. mit Fausta	Julius Constantius	Dalmatius — Dalmatius.	Hannibalianus.	Constantia, Wittve des Licinius. Eutropia — Nepotianus. Anastasia.
2) Helena, Julians Gemahlin. 2) Constantia, Wittve des Hannibalianus. 2) Constantius. 2) Constantin. 1) Crispus.	Gallus. Julianus.			

ty of the Imperial house, recalled the arms of Constantius from the inglorious prosecution of the Persian war. He recommended the care of the east to his lieutenants, and afterwards to his cousin Gallus, whom he raised from a prison to a throne; and marched towards Europe, with a mind agitated by the conflict of hope and fear, of grief and indignation.

The policy of the eastern emperor was directed to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces of Illyricum from the cause of rebellion. It was an easy task to deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetrano, who, fluctuating some time between the opposite views of honour and interest, displayed to the world the insincerity of his temper, and was insensibly engaged in the snares ^{h)} of an artful negotiation.

The approaching contest with Magnentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius, and during the greater part of the summer, shewed himself master of the field. At length the battle of ^{A. D.} Murfa ^{351.} ⁱ⁾ decided the fate of the two contending parties. The signal victory which Constantius obtained is attributed to the arms of his cavalry. The number of the slain was computed at fifty-four thousand men, and the slaughter of the conquerors was more considerable than that of the vanquished; a circumstance which proves the obstinacy of the contest, and justifies the observation of an ancient writer, that the forces of the empire were consumed in the fatal battle of Murfa,

P 2

fa,

h) *Fallstricke.*i) *das heutige Eßsek.*

sa, by the loss of a veteran army, sufficient to defend the frontiers, or to add new triumphs to the glory of Rome.

The approach of winter supplied the indolence of Constantius with specious reasons for deferring the prosecution of the war till the ensuing spring. Magnentius had fixed his residence in the city of Aquileja, and shewed a seeming resolution to dispute the passage of the mountains and morasses which fortified the confines of the Venetian province. The surprisal^{k)} of a castle in the Alps by the secret march of the Imperialists, could scarcely have determined him to relinquish the possession of Italy, if the inclinations of the people had supported the cause of their tyrant. But the memory of the cruelties exercised by his ministers, after the unsuccessful revolt of *Nepotian*, had left a deep impression of horror and resentment on the minds of the Romans. That rash youth, the son of the princess *Eutropia*, and the nephew of Constantine, had seen with indignation the sceptre of the West usurped by a perfidious barbarian. Arming a desperate troop of slaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domestic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the senate, and assuming the title of Augustus, precariously reigned during a tumult of twenty-eight days. The march of some regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes: the rebellion was extinguished in the blood of *Nepotian*, of his mother *Eutropia*, and of his adherents; and the proscription was extended to all who had
con-

k) *Ueberrumpelung*.

contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Constantine.

But as soon as Constantius, after the battle of Murfa, became master of the sea-coast of Dalmatia, a band of noble exiles, who had ventured to equip a fleet in some harbour of the Hadriatic, sought protection and revenge in his victorious camp. By their secret intelligence with their countrymen, Rome and the Italian cities were persuaded to display the banners of Constantius on their walls. The grateful veterans, enriched by the liberality of the father, signalized their gratitude and loyalty to the son. The cavalry, the legions, and the auxiliaries of Italy, renewed their oath of allegiance to Constantius; and the usurper, alarmed by the general desertion, was compelled, with the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul.

At length, in the bloody combat of Mount Seleucus, the title of Rebels was irrevocably fixed on the party of Magnentius. He was unable to bring another army into the field; the fidelity of his guards was corrupted; and when he appeared in public to animate them by his exhortations, he was saluted with an unanimous shout of „Long live the emperor Constantius!„ The tyrant, who perceived that they were preparing to deserve pardon and rewards by the sacrifice of the most obnoxious criminal, prevented their design by falling on his sword; a death more easy and more honourable than he could hope to obtain from the hands of an enemy, whose revenge would

have been coloured with the specious pretence of justice and fraternal piety.

The public tranquillity was confirmed by the execution of the surviving leaders of a guilty and unsuccessful faction; and as the timid are always cruel, the mind of Constantius was inaccessible to mercy.

Kastratenregiment.

The divided provinces of the empire were again united by the victory of Constantius; but as that feeble prince was destitute of personal merit, either in peace or war; as he feared his generals, and distrusted his ministers; the triumph of his arms served only to establish the reign of the *eunuchs* over the Roman world. The aversion and contempt which mankind has so uniformly entertained for that imperfect species, appears to have degraded their character, and to have rendered them almost as incapable as they were supposed to be, of conceiving any generous sentiment, or of performing any worthy action. But the eunuchs were skilled in the arts of flattery and intrigue; and they alternately governed the mind of Constantine by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity. Whilst he viewed in a deceitful mirror the fair appearance of public prosperity, he supinely permitted them to intercept the complaints of the injured provinces, to accumulate immense treasures by the sale of justice and of honours; to disgrace the most important dignities, by the promotion of those who had purchased at their hands the powers of oppression, and to gratify their resentment against the few independent spirits, who

who arrogantly refused to solicit the protection of slaves.

Of these slaves the most distinguished was the chamberlain *Eusebius*, who ruled the monarch and the palace with such absolute sway ¹⁾, that Constantius, according to the sarcasm of an impartial historian, possessed some credit with this haughty favourite. By his artful suggestions, the emperor was persuaded to subscribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus, and to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural murders which pollute the honour of the house of Constantine.

Widrige Schicksale der beiden Prinzen Gallus und Julianus während der Regierung des Constantius.

When the two nephews of Constantine, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the fury of the soldiers, the former was about twelve, and the latter about six years of age; and, as the eldest was thought to be of a sickly constitution, they obtained with the less difficulty a precarious and dependent life, from the affected pity of Constantius, who was sensible that the execution of these helpless orphans would have been esteemed, by all mankind, an act of the most deliberate cruelty. Different cities of Ionia and Bithynia were assigned for the places of their exile and education; but, as soon as their growing years excited the jealousy of the emperor, he judged it more prudent to secure those unhappy youths in the strong castle of Marcellum, near Caesarea.

P 4

At

1) *Gewalt*.

At length, however, the emergencies of the state compelled the emperor, or rather his eunuchs, to invest Gallus with the title of Caesar, and to cement this political connection by his marriage with the princess Constantina. After a formal interview, in which the two princes mutually engaged their faith never to undertake any thing to the prejudice of each other, they repaired without delay to their respective stations. Constantius continued his march towards the West, and Gallus fixed his residence at Antioch, from whence, with a delegated authority, he administered the five great dioceses of the eastern praefecture. In this fortunate change, the new Caesar was not unmindful of his brother Julian, who obtained the honours of his rank, the appearances of liberty, and the restitution of an ample patrimony.

The writers the most indulgent to the memory of Gallus are obliged to confess that the Caesar was incapable of reigning. Transported from a prison to a throne, he possessed neither genius nor application, nor docility to compensate for the wants of knowledge and experience. His cruelty was sometimes displayed in the undissembled violence of popular or military executions; and was sometimes disguised by the abuse of law, and the forms of judicial proceedings.

But Gallus forgot that he was depriving himself of his only support, the affection of the people; whilst he furnished the malice of his enemies with the arms of truth, and afforded the emperor the fairest pretence of ~~the~~ acting

acting the forfeit ^{m)} of his purple, and of his life.

But as it appeared dangerous to arrest Gallus in his capital, the slow and safer arts of dissimulation were practised with success. The frequent and pressing epistles of Constantius were filled with professions of confidence and friendship; exhorting the Caesar to discharge the duties of his high station, to relieve his colleague from a part of the public cares, and to assist the West by his presence, his counsels, and his arms.

After a long delay, the reluctant Caesar set forwards on his journey to the Imperial court. Arrived at *Petovio* ^{A. D. 354.} in Pannonia, he was arrested, ignominiously stripped of the ensigns of Caesar, and hurried away to *Pola* in Istria. The horror which he felt, was soon increased by the appearance of his implacable enemy the eunuch Eusebius, who, with the assistance of a notary and a tribune, proceeded to interrogate him concerning the administration of the East.

The emperor, who reviewed with partial prejudice the minutes of the examination, was easily convinced, that his own safety was incompatible with the life of his cousin: the sentence of death was signed, dispatched, and executed.

Besides the reigning emperor, Julian alone survived, of all the numerous posterity of Constantius Chlorus. The misfortune of his royal birth involved him in the disgrace of Gallus. From his retirement in the happy country of Ionia, he was conveyed under a strong

P 5

guard

m) die Verwirkung.

guard to the court of Milan; where he languished above seven months, in the continual apprehension of suffering the same ignominious death, which was daily inflicted, almost before his eyes, on the friends and adherents of his persecuted family.

At last the emperor thought proper to assign the city of Athens for the place of his honourable exile. As Julian had discovered, from his earliest youth, a propensity, or rather passion, for the language, the manners, the learning, and the religion of the Greeks, he obeyed with pleasure an order so agreeable to his wishes. Far from the tumult of arms, and the treachery of courts, he spent six months amidst the groves of the academy, in a free intercourse with the philosophers of the age.

Julian's Erhebung zur Caesarwürde, durch bedenkliche Zeitumstände veranlaßt.

Whilst the hours of Julian were passed in studious retirement, the empress Eusebia, to whose steady and generous friendship he ascribes his miraculous deliverance, was not unmindful of the care of his fortune. The death of the late Caesar had left Constantius invested with the sole command, and oppressed by the accumulated weight of a mighty empire. Before the wounds of civil discord could be healed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of Barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer respected the barrier of the Danube. The impunity of rapine had increased the boldness and numbers of the wild *Isaurians*. Above all, the Persian monarch, elated

ted by victory, again threatened the peace of Asia, and the presence of the emperor was indispensably required, both in the West, and in the East.

For the first time, Constantius sincerely acknowledged, that his single strength was unequal to such an extent of care and of dominion. Insensible to the voice of flattery, which assured him that his all-powerful virtue, and celestial fortune, would still continue to triumph over every obstacle, he listened with complacency to the advice of Eusebia; and it was at length resolved, that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, sister of Constantius, should be appointed, with the title of Caesar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps. A. D. 355.

The four-and-twenty days which Julian spent at Milan after his investiture, and the first months of his Gallic reign, were devoted to a splendid, but severe captivity; nor could the acquisition of honour compensate for the loss of freedom. His steps were watched, his correspondence was intercepted; and he was obliged, by prudence, to decline the visits of his most intimate friends.

Krieg mit den Marcomannen und Persern.

The protection of the Rhaetian frontier, and several other affairs, detained Constantius in Italy above eighteen months after the departure of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the East, he indulged his pride and curiosity in a visit to the ancient capital. His departure from Rome was hastened by the alarming intelligence of the distress and danger

ger of the Illyrian provinces. The distractions of civil war, and the irreparable loss which the Roman legions had sustained in the battle of Murfa, exposed those countries, almost without defence, to the light cavalry of the Barbarians; and particularly to the inroads of the Quadi.

The emperor passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, cut in pieces all that encountered his march, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadi, and severely retaliated the calamities which they had inflicted on the Roman province.

While the Roman emperor and the Persian monarch, at the distance of three thousand miles, defended their extreme limits against the Barbarians of the Danube and of the Oxus, their intermediate frontier experienced the vicissitudes of a languid war, and a precarious truce. Sapor, to chastise a disobedient city, had lost the flower of his troops, and the most favourable season for conquest. Thirty thousand of his veterans had fallen under the walls of *Amida*, during the continuance of a siege which lasted seventy - three days; and the disappointed monarch returned to his capital with affected triumph and secret mortification.

A. D. The strength as well as spirit of the
360. army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing spring, was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified cities of Mesopotamia, *Singara* and *Bezabde*.

The

The defence of the East against the arms of Sapor required and would have exercised the abilities of the most consummate general; and it seemed fortunate for the state, that it was the actual province of the brave *Ursicinus*, who alone deserved the confidence of the soldiers and people. In the hour of danger, *Ursicinus* was removed from his station by the intrigues of the eunuchs; and the military command of the East was bestowed, by the same influence, on *Sabinian*, a wealthy and subtle veteran, who had attained the infirmities, without acquiring the experience, of age. By a second order, which issued from the same jealous and inconstant counsels, *Ursicinus* was again dispatched to the frontier of Mesopotamia, and condemned to sustain the labours of a war, the honours of which had been transferred to his unworthy rival.

Amida was at length taken; its bravest defenders, who had escaped the sword of the Barbarians, died in the Roman camp by the hand of the executioner; and *Ursicinus* himself, after supporting the disgrace of a partial enquiry, was punished for the misconduct of *Sabinian*, by the loss of his military rank.

The pride of *Constantius*, and the ingenuity of his courtiers, were at a loss to discover any materials for panegyric in the events of the Persian war; while the glory of his cousin *Julian*, to whose military command he had entrusted the provinces of Gaul, was proclaimed to the world in the simple and concise narrative of his exploits.

Ruhm-

Ruhmvolle Geschichte der Statthalterschaft Julian's in Gallien.

A. D. Immediately after Julian had received the purple at Milan, he was sent
356. into Gaul, with a feeble retinue of three hundred and sixty soldiers. At Vienna, where he passed a painful and anxious winter, in the hands of those ministers to whom Constantius had intrusted the direction of his conduct, the Caesar was informed of the siege and deliverance of Autun. That large and ancient city, protected only by a ruined wall and pusillanimous garrison, was saved by the generous resolution of a few veterans, who resumed their arms for the defence of their country. In his march from Autun, through the heart of the Gallic provinces, Julian embraced with ardour the earliest opportunity of signalizing his courage.

After he had repulsed the Alemanni from the provinces of the Upper Rhine, he turned his arms against the Franks, who were seated nearer to the Ocean on the confines of Gaul and Germany; and who, from their numbers, and still more from their intrepid valour, had ever been esteemed the most formidable of the

A. D. Barbarians. In the month of December Julian attacked a body of six hundred Franks, who had thrown themselves into two castles on the Meuse. In the
358. midst of that severe season they sustained, with inflexible constancy, a siege of fifty-four days; till at length, exhausted by hunger, and satisfied that the vigilance of the enemy in breaking the ice of the river, left them no hopes of escape, the Franks consented, for the
the

the first time, to dispense with the ancient law which commanded them to conquer or to die. The Caesar immediately sent his captives to the court of Constantius, who accepting them as a valuable present, rejoiced in the opportunity of adding so many heroes to the choicest troops of his domestic guards.

The obstinate resistance of this handful of Franks, apprised Julian of the difficulties of the expedition which he meditated for the ensuing spring, against the whole body of the nation. His rapid diligence surprised and astonished the active Barbarians. Ordering his soldiers to provide themselves with biscuit for twenty days, he suddenly pitched his camp near Tongres, while the enemy still supposed him in his winter - quarters of Paris, expecting the slow arrival of his convoys from Aquitain. Without allowing the Franks to unite or to deliberate, he skilfully spread his legions from Cologne to the ocean; and by the terror, as well as by the success of his arms, soon reduced the suppliant tribes to explore the clemency, and to obey the commands, of their conqueror.

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the provinces of Gaul from the Barbarians of Germany. He aspired to emulate the glory of the first and most illustrious of the emperors; after whose example, he composed his own commentaries of the Gallic war. Caesar has related, with conscious pride, the manner in which he *twice* passed the Rhine. Julian could boast, that before he assumed the title of Augustus, he had carried the Roman
Eagles

Eagles beyond that great river in *three* successful expeditions.

The young hero who supported, in Gaul, the throne of Constantius, was not permitted to reform the vices of the government; but he had courage to alleviate or to pity the distress of the people. Unless he had been able to revive the martial spirit of the Romans, or to introduce the arts of industry and refinement among their savage enemies, he could not entertain any rational hopes of securing the public tranquillity, either by the peace or conquest of Germany. Yet the victories of Julian suspended, for a short time, the inroads of the Barbarians, and delayed the ruin of the Western Empire.

His salutary influence restored the cities of Gaul, which had been so long exposed to the evils of civil discord, Barbarian war, and domestic tyranny; and the spirit of industry was revived with the hopes of enjoyment. Agriculture, manufactures and commerce again flourished under the protection of the laws; and the *curiae*, or civil corporations, were again filled with useful and respectable members: the youth were no longer apprehensive of marriage; and married persons were no longer apprehensive of posterity: the public and private festivals were celebrated with customary pomp; and the frequent and secure intercourse of the provinces displayed the image of national prosperity.

Paris, die Lieblingsresidenz Julian's.

A mind like that of Julian must have felt the general happiness of which he was the author;

thor; but he viewed, with peculiar satisfaction and complacency, the city of Paris; the seat of his winter residence, and the object even of his partial affection. That splendid capital, which now embraces an ample territory on either side of the Seine, was originally confined to the small island in the midst of the river, from whence the inhabitants derived a supply of pure and salubrious water. The river bathed the foot of the walls; and the town was accessible only by two wooden bridges. A forest overspread the northern side of the Seine; but on the south, the ground, which now bears the name of the University, was insensibly covered with houses, and adorned with a palace and amphitheatre, baths, an aqueduct, and a field of Mars for the exercise of the Roman troops. The severity of the climate was tempered by the neighbourhood of the ocean; and with some precautions, which experience had taught, the vine and fig-tree were successfully cultivated. But, in remarkable winters, the Seine was deeply frozen; and the huge pieces of ice that floated down the stream, might be compared, by an Asiatic, to the blocks of white marble which were extracted from the quarries of Phrygia.

Fortsetzung
der
Geschichte des Christenthums
unter
Constantin dem Grossen und seinen
drei Söhnen.

*Von dem religiösen Charakter Constantin's des
Grossen.*

Constantine (according to the expression of a profane poet) had used the altars of the church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. But as real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the specious piety of Constantine, if at first it was only specious, might gradually, by the influence of praise, of habit, and of example, be matured into serious faith and fervent devotion. The delay of his baptism may be justified by the maxims and the practice of ecclesiastical antiquity. The discretion of parents often suspended the baptism of their children till they could understand the obligations which they contracted: the severity of ancient bishops exacted from the new converts a noviciate of two or three years; and the catechumens themselves, from different motives of a temporal or a spiritual nature, were seldom impatient to assume the character of perfect and initiated Christians.

The

The sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin; and the soul was instantly restored to its original purity, and entitled to the promise of eternal salvation. Among the profelytes of Christianity, there were many who judged it imprudent to precipitate a salutary rite, which could not be repeated; to throw away an inestimable privilege, which could never be recovered. By the delay of baptism, they could venture freely to indulge their passions in the enjoyment of this world, while they still retained in their own hands the means of a sure and easy absolution.

The sublime theory of the gospel had made a much fainter impression on the heart than on the understanding of Constantine himself. He pursued the great object of his ambition through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himself, without moderation, to the abuse of his fortune. Instead of asserting his just superiority above the imperfect heroism and profane philosophy of Trajan and the Antonines, the mature age of Constantine forfeited the reputation which he had acquired in the youth. As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth, he proportionably declined in the practice of virtue; and the same year of his reign in which he convened ⁿ⁾ the council of Nice, was polluted by the execution, or rather murder, of his eldest son. This date is alone sufficient to refute the ignorant and malicious suggestions of Zosimus, who affirms, that, after the death of

Q 2

Cri-

n) *zusammenberief.*

Crispus, the remorse of his father accepted from the ministers of Christianity the expiation which he had vainly solicited from the Pagan pontiffs. At the time of the death of Crispus, the emperor could no longer hesitate in the choice of a religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the church was possessed of an infallible remedy, though he chose to defer the application of it, till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a relapse.

Progreſſen der chriſtlichen Religion unter Conſtantin dem Groſſen.

The gratitude of the church has exalted the virtues and excused the failings of a generous patron, who seated Christianity on the throne of the Roman world; and the Greeks, who celebrate the festival of the Imperial saint, seldom mention the name of Constantine without adding the title of *equal to the Apostles*. Such a comparison, if it alludes to the character of those divine missionaries, must be imputed to the extravagance of impious flattery. But if the parallel is confined to the extent and number of their evangelic victories, the success of Constantine might perhaps equal that of the Apostles themselves. By the edicts of toleration, he removed the temporal disadvantages which had hitherto retarded the progress of Christianity; and its active and numerous ministers received a free permission, a liberal encouragement, to recommend the salutary truth of revelation by every argument which could effect the reason or piety of mankind.

The

The exact balance of the two religions continued but a moment; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered, that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interest of the present, as well as a future, life. The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles, diffused conviction among the venal and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which signalized a forward zeal, by the voluntary destruction of their temples, were distinguished by municipal privileges, and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the East gloried in the singular advantage, that Constantinople was never profaned by the worship of idols.

As the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes. The salvation of the common people was purchased at an easy rate, if it be true, that, in one year, twelve thousand men were baptized at Rome, besides a proportionable number of women and children; and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by the emperor to every convert.

Fernere Fortschritte des Christenthums.

The powerful influence of Constantine was not circumscribed by the narrow limits of his life, or of his dominions. The education which he bestowed on his sons and nephews,

secured to the empire a race of princes, whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbibed, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine, of Christianity. War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the Barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch and the most civilized nation of the globe. The Goths and Germans, who enlisted under the standard of Rome, revered the cross which glittered at the head of the legions, and their fierce countrymen received at the same time the lessons of faith and of humanity. The kings of Iberia and Armenia worshipped the God of their protector; and their subjects, who have invariably preserved the name of Christians, soon formed a sacred and perpetual connection with their Roman brethern. The Christians of Persia were suspected, in time of war, of preferring their religion to their country; but as long as peace subsisted between the two empires, the persecuting spirit of the Magi was effectually restrained by the interposition of Constantine.

The rays of the Gospel illuminated the coast of India. The colonies of Jews, who had penetrated into Arabia and Aethiopia, opposed the progress of Christianity; but the labour of the missionaries was in some measure facilitated by a previous knowledge of the Mosaic revelation; and Abyssinia still reveres the memory of Frumentius, who, in the time
of

of Constantine, devoted his life to the conversion of those sequestered regions.

Hierarchy.

The distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers which had never been imposed on the free spirit of Greece and Rome, was introduced and confirmed by the legal establishment of Christianity. The separation of men into the two orders of the *clergy* and of the *laity* was, indeed, familiar to many nations of antiquity; and the priests of India, of Persia, of Assyria, of Judaea, of Aethiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul, derived from a celestial origin the temporal power and possessions which they had acquired. These venerable institutions had gradually assimilated themselves to the manners and government of their respective countries; but the opposition or contempt of the civil power served to cement the discipline of the primitive church. The Christians had been obliged to elect their own magistrates, to raise and distribute a peculiar revenue, and to regulate the internal policy of their republic by a code of laws, which were ratified by the consent of the people, and the practice of three hundred years. When Constantine embraced the faith of the Christians, he seemed to contract a perpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his successors, were accepted not as the precarious favours of the court, but as the just and unalienable rights of the ecclesiastical order.

The Catholic church was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred bishops; of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries of their respective dioceses, had been variously and accidentally decided by the zeal and success of the first missionaries, by the wishes of the people, and by the propagation of the gospel. A Christian diocese might be spread over a province, or reduced to a village; but all the bishops possessed an equal and indelible character; they all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostles, from the people, and from the laws. While the *civil* and *military* professions were separated by the policy of Constantine, a new and perpetual order of *ecclesiastical* ministers, always respectable, sometimes dangerous, were established in the church and state.

The subjects of Rome enjoyed in the church the privilege which they had lost in the republic; and it was every where admitted, as a fundamental maxim of religious policy, that no bishop could be imposed on an orthodox church without the consent of its members. The emperors, as the guardians of the public peace, and as the first citizens of Rome and Constantinople, might effectually declare their wishes in the choice of a primate ^{o)}: but those absolute monarchs respected the freedom of ecclesiastical elections; and while they distributed and resumed the honours of the state and the army, they allowed eighteen hundred perpetual magistrates to

^{o)} *Primas. Geistliches Oberhaupt.*

to receive their important offices from the free suffrages of the people.

The bishops alone possessed the faculty of *spiritual* generation; and this extraordinary privilege might compensate, in some degree, for the painful celibacy ^{p)} which was imposed as a virtue, as a duty, and at length as a positive obligation. The imposition of hands for ever bestowed some of the most valuable privileges of civil society. The whole body of the Catholic clergy was exempted by the emperors from all service, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions, which pressed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight; and the duties of their holy profession were accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the republic. The clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly supported the ecclesiastical throne. Six hundred *parabolani*, or adventurers, visited the sick at Alexandria; eleven hundred *co-piatae*, or grave-diggers ^{q)}, buried the dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks, who arose from the Nile, overspread and darkened the face of the Christian world.

The edict of Milan secured the revenue as well as the peace of the church; and the liberality of Constantine increased in a just proportion to his faith, and to his vices. In the space of two centuries, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, the eighteen hundred churches of the empire were enriched by the frequent and unalienable gifts of the prince and people.

Q 5

Under

p) *Ehelosigkeit.*q) *Todtengräber.*

Under a despotic government, the bishops alone enjoyed and asserted the inestimable privilege of being tried only by their *peers*; and even in a capital accusation, a synod of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence. The ancient privilege of sanctuary was transferred to the Christian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the younger Theodosius, to the precincts of consecrated ground. The fugitive, and even guilty, suppliants, were permitted to implore either the justice, or the mercy of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church; and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation of the bishop.

The bishop was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people. The discipline of penance^{r)} was digested into a system of canonical jurisprudence, which accurately defined the duty of private or public confession, the rules of evidence, the degrees of guilt, and the measure of punishment. Some considerations of religion, or loyalty, or fear, protected the sacred persons of the emperors from the zeal or resentment of the bishops; but they boldly censured and excommunicated the subordinate tyrants, who were not invested with the majesty of the purple. Such principles and such examples insensibly prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the necks of kings.

The custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of Christian devo-

r) Bußübung.

devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh sound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators, who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors. The design of this institution was laudable, but the fruits were not always salutary. When the public peace was distracted by heresy and schism, the sacred orators sounded the trumpet of discord, and perhaps of sedition. The understandings of their congregations were perplexed by mystery, their passions were inflamed by invectives: and they rushed from the Christian temples of Antioch or Alexandria prepared either to suffer or to inflict martyrdom.

The representatives of the Christian republic were regularly assembled in the spring and autumn of each year: and these synods diffused the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline and legislation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world. The archbishop or metropolitan was empowered, by the laws, to summon the suffragan bishops of his province, to revise ^{s)} their conduct, to vindicate their rights, to declare their faith, and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to supply the vacancies of the episcopal college. The primates of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Carthage*, and afterwards *Constantinople*, who exercised a more ample jurisdiction, convened the numerous assembly of their dependent bishops. But the convocation of great

s) mit kritischem Auge zu untersuchen.

great and extraordinary synods, was the prerogative of the emperor alone. At an early period, when Constantine was the protector, rather than the proselyte, of Christianity, he referred the African controversy to the council of Arles. Eleven years afterwards, a more numerous and celebrated assembly was convened at Nice in Bithynia, to extinguish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject of the Trinity.

Ketzergeschichte des Zeitalters Constantin's und seiner drei Söhne.

The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman world, the privilege of chusing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the Catholic church, were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that the Heretics, who presumed to dispute his opinions, or to oppose his commands, were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But as the sectaries might still exist under

under the cloud of royal 'disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction.

The sects against whom the Imperial severity was directed, appear to have been the adherents of *Paul of Samosata*; the *Montanists* of Phrygia; the *Novatians*; the *Marcionites* and *Valentinians*, under whose leading banners the various *Gnostics* of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied ^{t)}; and perhaps the *Manichæans*, who had recently imported from Persia an artful composition of Oriental and Christian theology.

Donatisten in Africa.

The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantine, as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned, with surprise, that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord. The source of the division was derived from a double election in the church of Carthage; the second, in rank and opulence, of the ecclesiastical thrones of the West. *Caecilian* and *Majorinus* were the two rival primates of Africa; and the death of the latter soon made room for *Donatus*, who, by his superior abilities and apparent virtues, was the firmest support of his party. This incident was productive of A. D. 315. a memorable schism; which afflicted the

pro-

t) to rally *sich wieder zusammenfinden.*

provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with Christianity itself.

Händel und Streitigkeiten über die Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und der Gottheit Christi.

The schism of the Donatists was confined to Africa: the more diffusive mischief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the Christian world; and from the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests both of the Romans and Barbarians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Arianism.

The divine sanction, which an Apostle ^{u)} had bestowed on the fundamental principle of the theology of Plato, encouraged the learned proselytes of the second and third centuries to admire and study the writings of the Athenian sage, who had thus marvellously anticipated one of the most surprising discoveries of the Christian revelation. The respectable name of Plato was used by the orthodox, and abused by the heretics, as the common support of truth and error: the authority of his skilful commentators, and the science of dialectics, were employed to justify the remote consequence of his opinions; and to supply the discreet silence of the inspired writers.

After the edict of toleration had restored peace and leisure to the Christians, the Trinitarian controversy was revived in the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame

u) *St. Iohannes.*

flame of religious discord was rapidly communicated from the schools, to the clergy, the people, the province, and the East. The abstruse question ^{x)} of the eternity of the *Logos* was agitated in ecclesiastic conferences, and popular sermons; and the heterodox opinions of *Arius* were soon made public by his own zeal, and by that of his adversaries. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years, was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice.

When the mysteries of the Christian faith were dangerously exposed to public debate, it might be observed, that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct, though imperfect, systems, concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity ^{y)}; and it was pronounced, that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error.

The interest of the common cause inclined the *Tritheists* and the *Sabellians* to join their numbers, and to conceal their differences; their animosity was softened by the healing counsels of toleration, and their disputes were suspended by the use of the mysterious *ἑμυστιον* which either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets ^{z)}.

Thus the authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the

x) *dunkle Materie.*

y) *Arianism, Trisheism, Sabellianism.*

z) *Glaubenslehren.*

the orthodox party the mysterious characters of that word, which essentially contributed, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The Consubstantialists, who, by their success, have deserved and obtained the title of *Catholics*, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness ^{a)} of their own creed ^{b)}, and insulted the repeated variations of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius, all the causes, human and divine, that influence and disturb the counsels of a theological faction, introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconstancy, which, in the course of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion, and avenged the violated dignity of the church.

The sect which asserted the doctrine of a similar substance, was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia. The Greek word, which was chosen to express this mysterious resemblance, bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol, that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the *Homoousians* and the *Homoiousians*. As it frequently happens, that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other, accidentally represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark any real and sensible distinction

a) *Festigkeit.*

b) *Glaubensbekenntnis.*

ction between the doctrine of the *Semi-Arians*, as they were improperly styled, and that of the Catholics themselves.

The inhabitants of the West were of a less inquisitive spirit; and as they had the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox source, they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of *Homoeofion*, by the paternal care of the Roman pontiff. Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable *A. D.* synod of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the council of Nice. 360.

*Fernere Schicksale des Arianismus, und des Stif-
ters dieser Secte.*

The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration, that those who resisted the divine judgment of the synod, must prepare themselves for an immediate exile, annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition; which from seventeen, was almost instantly reduced to two, protesting bishops. The impious Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his person and disciples were branded by law, with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames; and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found.

But as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by passion instead of principle
Neues Engl. Geogr. Leseb., 2. Th. R three,

three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed, before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favourite sister. The exiles were recalled, and Arius was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice; by issuing an absolute command, that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople.

On the same day, which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired; — and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion, that the orthodox saints had contributed, more efficaciously than by their prayers, to deliver the church from the most formidable of her enemies.

The three principal leaders of the Catholics; *Athanasius* of Alexandria, *Eustathius* of Antioch, and *Paul* of Constantinople, were deposed on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils; and were afterwards banished into distant provinces by the first of the Christian emperors, who in the last moments of his life, received the rites of baptism from the Arian bishop of Nicomedia.

The sons of Constantine must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father.

ther. Like him, they presumed to pronounce their judgment on mysteries into which they had never been regularly initiated: and the fate of the Trinitarian controversy depended, in a great measure, on the sentiments of Constantius, whose victory over the tyrant Magnentius encreased his inclination, as well as ability, to employ the arms of power in the cause of Arianism.

The design of establishing an uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged Constantius to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum and Asia, was repeatedly baffled c) by his own levity, by the divisions of the Arians, and by the resistance of the catholics; and he resolved, as the last and decisive effort, imperiously to dictate the decrees of a general council. The destructive earthquake of Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and perhaps some secret motives of policy, produced an alteration in the summons. The bishops of the East were directed to meet at *Seleucia*, in Isauria; while those of the West held their deliberations at *Rimini*, on the coast of the Hadriatic; and, instead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole episcopal body was ordered to march. The Eastern council, after consuming four days in fierce and unavailing d) debate, separated without any definitive conclusion. The council of the West was protracted till the seventh month. Taurus, the Praetorian praefect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till they should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts were supported by a

R 2

power

c) vereitelt.

d) zwecklos.

power of banishing fifteen of the most refractory, and a promise of the consulship if he achieved so difficult an adventure. His prayers and threats, the authority of the sovereign, the sophistry of Valens and Ursacius^{e)}, the distress of cold and hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a hopeless exile, at length extorted the reluctant consent of the bishops of Rimini. The deputies of the East and of the West attended the emperor in the palace of Constantinople, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession of faith which established the *likeness*, without expressing the *consubstantiality*, of the Son of God.

Athanasius.

The triumph of Arianism had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox clergy, whom it was impossible either to intimidate or to corrupt; and the reign of Constantius was disgraced by the unjust and ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit

e) Two bishops of Illyricum, who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner, in the religious wars of the East. By their arguments and negotiations, they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops: who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity, rather than by open violence.

suit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius will never be separated from the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy: he exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld with surprise and respect, the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, (326-373) and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the *Homoousion*, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and as the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate son of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy.

*Noch einige Beispiele von dem religiösen Charakter
jenes Zeitalters.*

The persecution of Athanasius, and of so many respectable bishops, who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or at least for the integrity of their conscience, was a just subject of indignation and discontent to all Christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, may serve to represent the state of the empire, and the temper of mankind, under the reign of the sons of Constantine.

The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his station and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of a great people; and could reject with scorn the prayers, the menaces, and the oblations of an heretical prince. After the eunuchs had pronounced the exile of Liberius, the dangerous and bloody sedition which the Roman people excited soon after the departure of Constantius, determined that prince to accept the submission of the exiled prelate, and to restore him to the undivided dominion of the capital. After some ineffectual resistance, his rival ^{f)} was expelled from the city by the permission of the emperor, and the power of the opposite faction; the adherents of Faelix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome upon the return of a Christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius and the proscriptions of Sylla.

Not-

^{f)} *Faelix.*

Notwithstanding the rapid increase of Christians under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire, still contained a strong and powerful faction of Infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even on their theatres the theological disputes of the church. Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the East had never been polluted by the worship of Idols, and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions, which distinguished the Christians of that age from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years he was five times driven from his throne; to which he was more frequently restored by the violence of the people, than by the permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival.

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of Constantius, which did not always require the provocations of guilt and resistance, was justly exasperated by the tumults of his capital,

and the criminal behaviour of a faction, which opposed the authority and religion of their sovereign. The successor of Constantius has expressed in a concise & but lively manner, some of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more especially the East, in the reign of a prince who was slave of his own passions, and of those of his eunuchs. „Many were imprisoned and persecuted, and driven into exile. Whole troops of those who are stiled heretics were massacred, particularly at Cyzicus, and at Samosata. In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other provinces, towns and villages were laid waste, and utterly destroyed. „

While the flames of the Arian controversy consumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infested by their peculiar enemies the savage fanatics, who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the strength and scandal of the Donatist party.

*Schicksal des Polytheismus nach der Bekehrung
Constantins des Grossen.*

The divisions of Christianity suspended the ruin of paganism; and the holy war against the infidels was less vigorously persecuted by princes and bishops, who were more immediately alarmed by the guilt and danger of domestic rebellion. The extirpation of idolatry might have been justified by the established principles of intolerance: but the hostile sects, which alternately reigned in the Imperial court, were mutually apprehensive of alienating, and perhaps exasperating, the minds of

a powerful, though declining faction. Every motive of authority and fashion, of interest and reason, now militated on the side of Christianity; but two or three generations elapsed, before their victorious influence was universally felt. The religion which had so long and so lately been established in the Roman empire was still revered by a numerous people, less attached indeed to speculative opinion, than to ancient custom. The honours of the state and army were indifferently bestowed on all the subjects of Constantine and Constantius; and a considerable portion of knowledge and wealth and valour was still engaged in the service of polytheism. The superstition of the senator and of the peasant, of the poet and the philosopher was derived from very different causes, but they met with equal devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal was insensibly provoked by the insulting triumph of a proscribed sect; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded confidence, that the presumptive heir of the empire, a young and valiant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the Barbarians, had secretly embraced the religion of his ancestors.

Von
dem Kaiser JULIAN
 und
dem Schicksale der christlichen Religion
 unter seiner Regierung.

Julian's Thronerhebung.

While the Romans languished under the ignominious tyranny of Eunuchs and bishops, the praises of Julian were repeated with transport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Constantius, who had secretly conceived the sentiments of hatred and envy for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the imminent danger of the eastern provinces, offered a specious pretence for the design which was artfully concerted by the Imperial ministers. They resolved to disarm the Caesar; to recall those faithful troops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ in a distant war against the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the administration of power, which, in his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary; with positive orders from the emperor, which

which *they* were directed to execute, and *he* was commanded not to oppose.

The Caesar foresaw, and lamented, the consequences of this fatal mandate. The troops lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular resentment was insensibly moulded ^{h)} into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of complaint were heightened by passion, and their passions were inflamed by wine; as on the eve ⁱ⁾ of their departure from Paris; the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with swords, and bowls ^{k)}, and torches ^{l)}, in their hands, rushed into the suburbs, encompassed the palace; and, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN A. D. AUGUSTUS! 360.

Prudence, as well as loyalty, inculcated the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs; and of preparing for the oppressed virtue, the excuse of violence. The inflexible Caesar sustained till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly assured, that if he wished to live, he must consent to reign.

Bür-

h) gemodelt. — Is was moulded into a regular conspiracy. *Es bekam die Gestalt einer förmlichen Verschwörung.*

i) am Vorabend.

k) Trinkgeschirren.

l) Fackeln.

*Bürgerlicher Krieg; beendigt durch den Tod des
Constantins.*

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies, to defeat and to despise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new Emperor. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch ^{m)}; and, as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war.

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterprise, he availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valour and to fortune. The secrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, surmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and morasses, occupied the bridges or swam the rivers, pursued his direct course, without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or the Barbarians, and at length emerged, between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he had designed to embark his troops on the Danube.

He

^{m)} zu Antiochien hielt sich damals Constantius, des bevorstehenden Persischen Krieges wegen, auf.

He had already disembarked them at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine.

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naissus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laboured apology for his own conduct. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens seems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasm; which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading, in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite ⁿ⁾ from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chase to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party.

But the humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying or of being himself destroyed: and the seasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from

n) *Erholung.*

from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

The military designs of Julian, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory.

Julian's Einzug in Constantinopel. Lob seiner Regierung.

Impatient to visit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, Julian advanced from Naissus through the mountains of Haemus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the distance of sixty miles, all Constantinople was poured forth ^{o)} to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry, amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate.

The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps

^{o)} strömte heraus.

haps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to so rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. His light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day, he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in short-hand ^{p)} by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought, and such firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate; and pursue at once three several trains of ideas, without hesitation and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public business, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the

p) als sie mit Abbreviatur konnten niedergeschrieben werden.

the prosecution, of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal; his sleep was never clouded by the fumes ^{q)} of indigestion; and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion. He was soon awakened by the entrance of fresh secretaries, who had slept the preceding day; and his servants were obliged to wait alternately while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any other refreshment than the change of occupations.

The predecessors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his cousin, indulged their puerile taste for the games of the circus; under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people, and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races ^{r)} was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and possessed an unfashionable ^{s)} dislike to these frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the circus; and after bestowing a careless glance ^{t)} on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who considered every moment as lost, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind. By this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign; and if the

q) Vapeurs. r) Wettrennen.

s) modewidriges. t) Blick.

the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the Persian war.

The actions of Julian can only be preserved by the care of the historian; but the portion of his voluminous writings, which is still extant, remains as a monument of the application; as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The *Misopogon*, the *Caesars*, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the christian religion, were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed in Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

Neue Reformen am kaiserlichen Hofe.

The reformation of the Imperial court was one of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian, who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in despising, the pomp of royalty. By the total extirpation of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the distress, and to appease the murmurs, of the people; who support with less uneasiness the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are appropriated to the service of the state. But in the execution of this salutary work, Julian is accused of proceeding with too much haste and inconsiderate severity. By a single edict, he reduced the palace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with ignominy the whole train of slaves and dependents,

Neuer Engl. Geogr. Leseb. 2. Th.

S with-

without providing any just, or at least benevolent, exceptions, for the age, the services, or the poverty, of the faithful domestics of the Imperial family.

Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who seldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. The splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the curls ^{u)} and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared so ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently rejected by his philosophic successor. But with the fopperies ^{x)}, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress; and seemed to value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness ^{y)}.

Noch einige Züge von dem politischen und moralischen Charakter Julian's.

But the work of public reformation would have remained imperfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuses, without punishing the crimes, of his predecessor's reign. It was not, however, his intention, that the criminals should be oppressed: they enjoyed the benefit of a fair and impartial trial. The numerous army of spies, of agents, and informers, enlisted by Constantius to secure the repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous successor. Julian was slow in his suspicions, and gentle in his punishments: the philosopher could excuse the hasty fallies ^{z)} of

^{u)} gekräuselttes Haar.

^{x)} Possen.

^{y)} Reinlichkeit.

^{z)} Ausbrüche, Aeußerungen.

of discontent; and the hero could despise the ambitious projects, which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conspirators.

The office, or rather the name, of consul, was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the same behaviour which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus, was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. The venerable age of Greece excited the most tender compassion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture ^{a)} when he recollected the gods; the heroes; and the men, superior to heroes and to gods; who had bequeathed ^{b)} to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus.

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of Orator, and of Judge, which are almost unknown to the modern sovereigns of Europe.

The generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life; by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense applica-

S 2

tion

a) in Entzückung gerieth.

b) vermacht, hinterlassen.

tion c), he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the same talents in studious solitude, would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Caesar; nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress, and to revive the spirit, of his subjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to confess, with a sigh, that the *apostate* Julian was a lover of his country, and

c) gespannte Aufmerksamkeit auf seine Geschäfte.

and that he deserved the empire of the world.

Julian's religiöser Charakter.

A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome constituted the ruling passion of Julian; the powers of an enlightened understanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of superstitious prejudice; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The cause of his strange and fatal apostacy ^{d)}, may be derived from the early period of his life, when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of *Christ* and of *Constantius*; the ideas of slavery and of religion, were soon associated in a youthful imagination, which was susceptible of the most lively impressions. The independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. The fierce contests of the Eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds ^{e)}, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended.

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted

S 3

to

d) Abtrünnigkeit.

e) Glaubensbekenntnisse.

to breathe ^{f)} the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganism. The creed which he now adopted for his own use, was of the largest dimensions ^{g)}; and, by a strange contradiction, he disdained the salutary yoke of the Gospel ^{h)}, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. He was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age, and his residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition.

Julian verheimlicht sein Glaubensbekenntniß bis zu seiner Thronbesteigung.

The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased ⁱ⁾ the just apprehensions of the Christians. But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissimulating his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised.

The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years from his secret initiation at Ephesus, to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had satisfied the obligation of assisting, on solemn festivals, at the assemblies of the Christians, Julian returned,

f) athmen. g) Umfang. h) Evangelium.
i) besänftiget, beruhiget.

ned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense in the domestic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of dissimulation must be painful to an ingenious spirit, the profession of Christianity encreased the aversion of Julian for a religion, which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature, sincerity and courage.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work, which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved, by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria; and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attention; and in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian.

*Folgen der Religionsänderung Julian's für die
verschiedenen Religionspartheien des Römischen
Reichs.*

The favour of Julian was almost equally divided between the Pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the Christians, who embraced the religion of their sovereign. It is more than probable, that the restoration and encouragement of Paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion of the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with the same flexibility of conscience, to the faith which was professed by the successors of Julian.

While the devout monarch incessantly laboured to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. As the Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the Imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation. He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the institutions of Moses, who had not disdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt. The local and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist, who desired only to multiply the number of the gods, and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety
of

of Solomon, who had offered, at the feast of the dedication twenty-two thousand oxen, and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep.

At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes ^{k)} of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish ^{l)} was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque, still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian. But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable contest, the honour of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle.

S 5

An

k) *Spaden und Zimmeräxte.*

l) *Schutt.*

An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable authors. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem, and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian ^{m)}, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle.

The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing, whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice, or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced ⁿ⁾, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the
less

m) Ammianus Marcellinus.

n) *verstattete*.

less honourable appellation of GALILAE-
ANS. He declared, that, by the folly of the
Galilaeans, whom he describes as a sect of fa-
natics, contemptible to men; and odious to
the gods, the empire had been reduced to the
brink of destruction ^{o)}; and he insinuates in a
public edict, that a frantic ^{p)} patient might
sometimes be cured by salutary violence. It
was the object of the insidious policy of Ju-
lian, to deprive the Christians of all the tem-
poral honours and advantages which rendered
them respectable in the eyes of the world.

When the father of his country declares
himself the leader of a faction, the licence of
popular fury cannot easily be restrained, nor
consistently punished. Julian in a public com-
position, applauds the devotion and loyalty of
the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabi-
tants had destroyed; at the first signal, the se-
pulchres of the Galilaeans; and faintly com-
plains, that they had revenged the injuries of
the gods with less moderation than he should
have recommended. This imperfect and re-
luctant confession may appear to confirm the
ecclesiastical narratives; that in the cities of
Gaza, Ascalon, Caesarea, Heliopolis &c. the
Pagans abused, without prudence or remorse,
the moment of their prosperity; that the un-
happy objects of their cruelty were released
from torture only by death; that as their
mangled bodies ^{q)} were dragged through the
streets, they were pierced (such was the uni-
versal rage) by the spits of the cooks, and
the

^{o)} *an den Rand des Verderbens.*

^{p)} *des Verstandes beraubt.*

^{q)} *verstümmelte Körper.*

the distaffs ^{r)} of enraged women; and that the entrails ^{s)} of Christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley ^{t)}, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city.

The age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius, enabled him to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of Ecclesiastical Dictator; and the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Christians. Julian, who despised them, honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. At length the archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the Desert: eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import ^{u)}, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilæan school were contained in the single person of Athanasius.

The Christians, from such reasons, considered Julian as a cruel and crafty ^{x)} tyrant; who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of the emperor would have prevailed over his good sense and humanity; but, if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the church, we shall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war.

Ju-

r) *Spinnrocken.*
u) *Bedeutung.*

s) *Eingeweide.*

t) *Gerste.*
x) *verschmitzt.*

Julian's Caesaren. Seine letzte kriegerische Unternehmung.

The philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the CAESARS, is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit. The value of this agreeable composition, is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he solicited, with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of the East, from the continent of India, and the isle of Ceylon, had respectfully saluted the Roman purple. The nations of the West esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory, and was satisfied that the rapacious Barbarians of the Danube would be restrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties, by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications, with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes
was

was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms, and he resolved by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation, which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome.

A. D. The impatience of the emperor urged
368. the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor.

Julian's Aufenthalt zu Antiochien.

Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste, and to censure the delays, of their sovereign. The effeminate Orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained, and sometimes affected. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *beard* of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magistrates, and the applause of the multitude.

The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed y) with quick sensibility, and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. He contended

y) *begabte.*

tended himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This Imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the MISOPOGON still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive. His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor worthy only of such subjects: and the emperor for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia.

Persischer Feldzug.

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring. Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the Euphrates, had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who, immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previously constructed. If the inclinations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he

he advanced without delay to Carrhae, a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles from Hierapolis.

The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies, and to divert the attention, of Sapor. His army, the most numerous that any of the Caesars had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and Barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate, and almost from another world, to invade a distant country, of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the Imperial standard several tribes of Saracens, or roving ^{z)} Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly ^{a)} refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions, and to satisfy the wants, of the Roman army.

The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated ^{b)} on a guiltless people the acts of rapine and cruelty, which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. Thus he was an object of

^{z)} herum schwärmende.

^{a)} ernstlich.

^{b)} ließ entgelten.

of terror and hatred to the Persians: and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire. To his friends and soldiers, the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed; than in the last, and most active, period of his life.

After the successful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiments of those generals, who dissuaded the siege of the capital of Sapor, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking.

It is not easy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, battering engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles. At the very time when he declined the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who had been so long accustomed to the tardy ostentation of Constantius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of

India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory ^{c)}, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris.

Instead of confining his march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, Iulian resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia.

The magnanimity of Iulian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood and of shame. The credulous emperor, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue an hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign ^{d)} his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed in a single hour, the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expence of toil, of treasure, and of blood.

On the approach of the Romans to the extensive region, that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was

c) zaudernd.

d) anklagen, verdächtig machen.

was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert.

The emperor was soon reduced to the scanty ^{e)} stock of provisions, which continually wasted ^{f)} in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed, he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana, or Susa, by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march; but he was deprived of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad; the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, as soon as they were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conspiracy.

The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. At length as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding ^{g)} troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras, with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia.

T 2

As

e) *dürftig, kümmerlich.*

f) *abnahm.*

g) *verzweifelt.*

As the Romans continued their march, their long array ^{h)}, which was forced to bend, or divide, according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury; and in one of these actions, the emperor was mortally wounded by a javelin, which transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent.

Julian's Tod.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit ⁱ⁾, into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful

grief

h) Zug.

i) Anfall von Ohnmacht.

grief to an edifying discourse which the dying emperor pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice. The efforts which he made, of mind, as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight.

Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months; from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.

*Schimpfliche Beendigung des Persischen Feldzuges
nach dem Tode Julian's.*

The unexpected death of Julian left the empire without a master, and without an heir, in a state of perplexity and danger, which, in the space of fourscore years, had never been experienced, since the election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aspire to ascend the vacant throne, could be supported only by the consciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour.

But the situation of a famished army, encompassed on all sides by an host of Barbarians

rians, shortened the moments of deliberation. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first* ^{k)} of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the Imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited.

The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, Count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit, the character of a Christian and a soldier. The pride of his unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress.

The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sud-

k) The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a senator, and though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes.

sudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, to second and support the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-gard¹⁾ of the Romans.

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants; and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire: which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. On the other side, the irresolute emperor expected his fate with patient resignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was no longer in his power to refuse.

The loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the Barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent of

T 4

se-

1) Nachtrupp.

seventy miles, did not afford a single blade^{m)} of sweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water.

The remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return, and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of those officers, who, from motives of interest, or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor. However, the minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces, which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he shamefully surrendered to the Barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the East.

The ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable aera in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces: but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.

Be-

m) *Halm.*

Begräbnissfeierlichkeiten zur Ehre Julian's. Verschiedenheit der Urtheile über ihn nach seinem Tode.

After Jovian had performed those engagements, which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch. Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The Pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul of the *apostate* to hell, and his body to the grave. One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvelous deliverance of the church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains ⁿ⁾, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged, that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia; and instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal

T 5

tal

n) in erhabenen und zweideutigen Gesängen.

tal or immortal champion of the faith. Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries; who darkly insinuated, or confidently asserted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic assassin. Above sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was solemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the sophist of Antioch, for the cold and neglected ashes of his friend.

